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The Idea of Progress

SIDNEY B. FAY*

IDEAS, no matter whether true or false, are often potent factors in social change. Ideas are also apt to reflect the color and pattern of an era. This is notably true of the idea of progress—that “civilization has moved, is moving, and will continue to move in a desirable direction.” It depends on subjective value-judgments, which in turn often depend on the individual’s emotional inclination toward optimism or pessimism. No one can prove scientifically that birth control, the New Deal, or the atomic bomb denote progress in a desirable direction, because it is impossible to control and measure objectively all the facts involved. Judgments differ sharply. There is hardly any social change that is not called progress by somebody. The concept is logically meaningless. It ought perhaps therefore to be shunned by the historian. But it has an accepted popular usage and has profoundly influenced writers on social science.¹ In the nineteenth century it came to

*Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting in New York on December 28, 1946. The author is professor emeritus of history in Harvard University.

¹ Interest in it was strong in the nineteenth century and seemed to be growing after 1900, if we may judge from a brief bibliography published in 1932 (Earle E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, pp. 513–18). It listed sixteen titles on progress published prior to 1900, seventeen published in the first decade of this century, thirty-one in the second decade, and fifty-six in the third decade.

be taken for granted as axiomatic. It was assumed as the animating and controlling force in our Western civilization. From it was derived the ethical corollary that we can and ought to provide a progressively improved world for posterity. As Professor Carver wrote in 1905: "The study of sociology . . . can hardly justify its existence unless it furnishes us with a theory of progress which will enable us to shape the policies of society with a view to future improvement."²

Is the idea of progress, however, really sound? Is it in accord with historical facts? Has there been a steady and inevitable advance? How has the idea been modified, if at all, by the impact of the machine age and by the catastrophic whirlwind of two world wars? Another American sociologist answered last fall: "The rosy doctrine in great favor a generation ago, *Man's social progress is inevitable because brought about by impersonal forces that are working in his interest*, will 'go into the discard.'"³ And Arnold J. Toynbee, after a magisterial survey of dead and dying civilizations, says that even our own much-lauded Western civilization "may also have passed its zenith for all that we know. . . . We cannot say for certain that our doom is at hand; and yet we have no warrant for assuming that it is not."⁴

Let us first glance briefly at the origin and growth of the idea. It was brilliantly traced twenty-six years ago by the distinguished historian of Greece and annotator of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. Professor Bury maintains that the idea of progress is comparatively recent, dating only from the sixteenth century.⁵ Thucydides, to be sure, traced the social progress of the Greeks

² Thomas N. Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress* (Boston, 1905), p. 7.

³ Edward A. Ross, "The Post-war Intellectual Climate," *American Sociological Review*, X (October, 1945), 650.

⁴ "We cannot say for certain that our doom is at hand; and yet we have no warrant for assuming that it is not; for such would be to assume that we are not as other men are; and any such assumption would be at variance with everything that we know about human nature either by looking around us or by introspection. . . . And, inasmuch as it cannot be supposed that God's nature is less constant than Man's, we may and must pray that a reprieve which God has granted to our society once will not be refused if we ask for it again in a contrite spirit and with a broken heart." Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Study of History*, vols., (London, 1934-39), IV, 122; VI, 320.

⁵ J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth* (London, 1920); new edition (New York, 1932) with introduction by C. A. Beard, but without Bury's appendix of notes. Bury's statement of the history of the "dogma" of progress is by far the best. But he makes no attempt to examine the large literature on social change since about 1880, or to speculate on how theories of progress may be modified by more recent philosophical thought, by the new findings of anthropology, or by the catastrophic events of recent decades. Starting with Greece and Rome, he traces the idea in western Europe, mainly in England and France, gives little attention to other countries, and somewhat overstates the absence of the idea among the Greeks and Romans. Cf. P. A. Srokin: "The ancient Chinese, Babylonian, Hindu, Greek, Roman and most of the medieval thinkers supporting theories of rhythmical, cyclical or trendless movements of social processes were much nearer to reality than the present proponents of the linear view. It is not true that these ancients were incapable of conceiving of the idea of evolution or

in historical times, and other Greek writers hinted that man had risen by a gradual ascent. But, generally speaking, the Greeks did not conceive progress in the modern sense. They had a widespread belief in an earlier "Golden Age" without toil, war, and disease, which had been followed by man's decay and degeneration. Hesiod's picture of regression from the age of gold to the age of iron was never forgotten in antiquity. Plato set forth a gradual deterioration in social organization through the successive stages of aristocracy, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy, and despotism. The common Greek belief in recurring "cycles" of better and worse excluded the possibility of permanent advance or "progress." Plato suggests a cycle of 72,000 solar years. The world is set spinning in the right direction by the Deity and all goes well during the Golden Age of the first half of the cycle. Then the Deity loosens his grip of the machine, order is disturbed, and in the second half of the cycle there is decay and degeneration until chaos threatens. Then the Deity again seizes control and restores the original conditions, and the whole cycle begins anew.⁶ Nor does Aristotle contemplate progress. He speaks of "the wickedness of human nature," thinks "almost everything has been found out," and says that changes in the established order are undesirable and should be as few and cautious as possible.⁷ Greek mythology taught that mortals should not try to rival the gods and so incur their envy and displeasure. Prometheus was punished for stealing fire from the Olympians and teaching man the arts of civilization.⁸ Icarus perished because of his foolhardiness in trying to soar too high. According to the Greek idea of Moira, or destiny, there is a fixed order in the universe, which mortals must respect and not attempt to change or conquer. Human striving toward progress is too proud and perilous a tearing down of the bars which divide the human from the divine.

The Romans were dominated by Greek thought. Seneca, to be sure, recognized the progress of knowledge, but he did not expect from it any improvement in the world, because any advance in the arts and inventions promotes deterioration by ministering to luxury and vice. Lucretius, in his magnificent panorama of man's rise from savagery to civilization, with fire, precious metals, agriculture, ships, walled towns, roads, laws, and all the pleasures of

progress, as we are assured since Bury. They recognized this alternative quite clearly, but rejected it as less adequate than the conception of a movement of social process with changing direction and without perpetual tendency or a fixed and permanent goal" (American Sociological Society, *Publications*, XXVI, 25; paper read at December meeting, 1932).

⁶ *Republic*, ed. by J. A. Adam (Cambridge, England, 1902), Bk. VIII; *Statesman*, tr. by Benjamin Jowett (*Dialogues*, New York, 1872, III), pp. 269-75.

⁷ *Politics*, tr. by B. Jowett (Oxford, 1921), II, 5, 8.

⁸ Cf. Toynbee, III, 112-22.

life, actually uses for the first time the word "progress": "These things practice and the experience of the unresting mind have taught men gradually, as they progressed step by step."⁹ But even Lucretius did not look forward to any continued amelioration in the future, and therefore lacked one of the essential aspects of the modern idea.

Nor were the Middle Ages much more congenial to it than the classical period. According to St. Augustine, who was the dominant influence for a thousand years, original sin and "other-worldliness" were all pervasive.

In Adam's fall

We sinnèd all.

In Augustine's philosophy the whole movement of history aimed to secure the happiness of an elect few in another world. He did not postulate a further and indefinite development of mankind on this earth. The Day of Judgment might come at any moment. History is a series of events ordered by divine intervention and revelation, that is, by an active Providence. This view was incompatible with the growth of a doctrine of progress—of the steady amelioration of man either by gradual evolution and adaptation, or by his own conscious efforts.

The Renaissance, which was generally so fruitful in its "discovery of man and the world," was accompanied by the "revival of learning." Its exaltation of Greek and Roman antiquity to a position of unattainable superiority emphasized the barbarism and decline of the intervening centuries. There was such a veneration for the classical writers that ancient notions smothered the potential birth of a concept of progress.

In the course of the sixteenth century, however, under the influence of new discoveries, men began, somewhat timidly and tentatively, to rebel against the tyranny of antiquity. Copernicus undermined the authority of Ptolemy. Vesalius dimmed the prestige of Galen. And Aristotle was attacked on many sides by men like Bernardino Telesio, Jerome Cardan, and Giordano Bruno. Petrus Ramus, who lost his life in the massacre of St. Bartholemew, had taken his university degree in 1536 with the thesis: "All that Aristotle taught is false."

Just thirty years later Bodin published a Latin work with the alluring title, "Method for the Easy Understanding of History."¹⁰ Bodin rejected the classi-

⁹ *De Rerum Natura*, ed. by H. A. J. Munro (London, 1920), Bk. V, ll. 1452-53:

Usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis

Paulatim docuit pedetentim progredientes.

¹⁰ Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris, 1566); issued in thirteen Latin editions between 1566 and 1650; there is an excellent complete English translation by Beatrice Reynolds (New York, 1945).

cal doctrine of degeneration with its tradition of a previous Golden Age of virtue and felicity. He argued that the powers of nature have always remained the same; and that it would be illogical to suppose that nature could at one time produce the men and conditions postulated by the Golden Age theory, and not produce them at a later time. He even claimed that his own age was fully equal, and in some respects superior, to the age of classical antiquity. History, he said, depends largely on the will of men, which is always changing; every day new customs, new laws, new institutions come into being, and also new errors, resulting in a series of oscillations. Rise is followed by fall, and fall by rise. But, on the whole, through the series of oscillations, there has been a gradual ascent from the time when men lived like wild beasts to the social order of sixteenth century Europe. His idea of progress was incomplete, however, because he also, like Lucretius, gave little consideration to the future.

Sir Francis Bacon went much farther. The impressive discoveries of gunpowder, printing, the compass, and new lands overseas, he declared, showed how rapidly knowledge was already advancing. "There is therefore much ground for hoping that there are still laid up in the womb of nature many secrets of excellent use . . . which have not yet been found out." Scientific experimentation was the key for discovering these secrets which would be of great utility in furthering the happiness of mankind.¹¹

Though Bodin and Bacon had advanced toward the idea of progress, they were both still much bound by respect for the classics and also by the doctrine of an active intervening Providence—the sun could be made to stand still in its course. This was not true of Descartes. In affirming absolutely the invariability of the laws of nature and the supremacy of reason, Descartes dealt devastating blows to respect for authority and tradition and to the doctrine of Providence. He was proud of having forgotten the Greek which he had learned as a boy. He gloried in breaking sharply and completely with the past, and in constructing a system which borrowed nothing from the dead. With magnificent self-confidence he looked forward to an advancement of knowledge in the future on the basis of his own analytical method and his own discoveries. He believed that this would bring far-reaching benefits to mankind. The original title which he had proposed to give to his *Discourse on Method* had been "The Project of a Universal Science Which Can Elevate Our Nature to Its Highest Perfection." But precisely because he was pleased to ignore or make light of what had been achieved in the past, he failed to

¹¹ *Novum Organum*, in *Works*, ed. by James Spedding (London, 1860), IV, Bk. I, par. 109, 129.

develop a complete doctrine of progress. For any such doctrine must consider the past as well as the present and future. However, he prepared the free intellectual atmosphere in which the complete idea was to be unfolded by men imbued with the Cartesian spirit.

In the age of Louis XIV Charles Perrault, and especially Fontenelle, carried forward and popularized the notion of progress in the famous battle between the Ancients and Moderns. Fontenelle took the side of the Moderns to show that man had not degenerated and that the forces of Nature are permanent. If today the lions are as fierce, and the oaks and the beeches as large, as in the days of Pericles, must it not be assumed that Nature is as vigorous today as formerly? And if as vigorous, can and will she not produce men of equal brains and ability? And aside from equal mental capacity, the Moderns enjoy a certain advantage owing to "time." The Ancients were prior in time to us; therefore they were the authors of the first inventions. For that, they cannot be regarded as our superiors. If we had been in their place we should have been the inventors, like them; if they had been in ours, they would add to those inventions as we do. With "time" comes the accumulation of knowledge, the elimination of false theories, and improvements in the methods of reasoning. Therefore we excel the Ancients, and in the same way we must expect that posterity will excel us. Time is the friend of man, not the enemy, as Horace and the Ancients had asserted. In looking to the future as well as the past, Fontenelle gave a more complete notion of the progress of knowledge.

Born in 1657, Fontenelle lived to be a hundred. During his century great advance was made in the natural sciences—one has only to think of men like Boyle, Newton, Leibnitz. New recognition was being given to science, as compared with theology, by the founding of royal academies of science. The achievements of science, then as ever, did more than anything else to win popular imagination to the general idea of progress. Men like the fertile-minded Abbé de Saint Pierre, Turgot, and the Encyclopedists turned to another aspect of it to which Fontenelle had paid little attention—the art of living together, or social progress. What was the value of progress in science, if the conditions of life itself could not be ameliorated? The triumph of liberty in America and in the French Revolution created such a wave of optimistic enthusiasm, that Condorcet, even in his attic prison, was convinced that "the perfectibility of man is absolutely indefinite."¹²

In the nineteenth century came the search for the "laws" of progress,

¹² M. de Condorcet, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind* (Philadelphia, 1796), p. 11.

already implicit in Turgot and Condorcet, so that society could be remodeled on scientific principles. Following Fourier and St. Simon, Auguste Comte formulated his famous law of the three stages of intellectual evolution, with his positivist philosophy and new science of sociology. Numerous other writers on the history of "civilization," French, German, and English, took progress for granted. It was furthered in popular imagination by the hitherto unparalleled scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions which accompanied the spreading Industrial Revolution, overseas expansion, and the prosperous growth of the United States. Steam and the railway age abridged space, economized time, and added in many ways to the material comforts of life. Electricity opened new vistas. Chemistry and biology prepared the way for great advances in medicine. In spite of all this, however, there were some eminent dissenters from the widely accepted idea.

Then in 1859 it received a tremendous impetus from the publication of Darwin's great work. His doctrine of the evolution of species by adaptation and natural selection was strictly biological. It did not necessarily mean social progress, or, even when applied by analogy to society as an organism, that the movement of man was toward a desirable goal. It was a neutral, scientific conception, compatible with either optimism or pessimism, and has in fact been interpreted in both ways.

Darwin's evolution in nature, however, was taken up by Herbert Spencer to support evolutionary social views which he had already developed independently a few years earlier.¹³ Extending the principle of evolution through "the survival of the fittest" to biology, psychology, sociology, and ethics, Spencer built up in the next decades the gigantic Synthetic Philosophy which was to explain the development of the universe. He gave the idea of progress such a universal, optimistic, and extreme form that it lent itself to ridicule and attack in his own day and ever since. He declared: "The ultimate development of the ideal man is logically certain—as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith; for instance that all men will die. . . . Progress, therefore, is not an accident, but a necessity. . . . What we call evil and immorality must disappear. It is certain that man must become perfect."¹⁴ He made progress identical with evolution and announced: "Evolution can end only in the establishment of the greatest perfection and the most complete happiness."¹⁵ As Dean Inge remarked just after the first World

¹³ Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics, or the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of Them Developed* (London, 1850); and "Progress: Its Law and Cause," in the *Westminster Review*, April, 1857; in this he set forth a favorite but doubtful view, borrowed from Baer, that the growth of the individual organism and the growth of civilization follow the same law of progress from homogeneity to heterogeneity of structure.

¹⁴ *Social Statics*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁵ *First Principles* (Boston, 1896), p. 530.

War, "Herbert Spencer asserts the perfectibility of man with an assurance that makes us gasp."¹⁶

Spencer was at once assailed by religious leaders, and gradually criticized by scientific specialists and social reformers. Few denied the fact of progress, but there was sharp divergence of opinion as to how it takes place. Spencer's deterministic and laissez-faire doctrine that it takes place automatically and inevitably as a result of the competitive struggle for existence met opposition. His absolute rejection of reform legislation as a dangerous interference with the evolutionary process began to be replaced by reformist views. Instead of man being determined by his environment, social reformers asserted that the environment could be changed by man's purposeful and conscious efforts. Social progress, it was hoped, could be better promoted by collective control and planning than by brutal free competition.

Thus, by 1900, the Spencerian evolutionary concept of slow but steady cosmic progress was being replaced by new trends in social theory and by the optimistic philosophy of pragmatism. Meanwhile the general idea of progress, filtering down from the discussions of intellectual leaders, was seized upon and accepted by the broad masses. It became one of the most fundamental and influential ideas at the turn of the century. Belief in it varied, however, as between different individuals and different countries. It was colored by the material conditions in each country, and, generally speaking, was less widely accepted as one moved from west to east among the Great Powers.

In the United States, as has been so interestingly pointed out by Arthur Ekirch, Richard Hofstadter, Charles Beard, Merle Curti, and many others,¹⁷ the opening up of a vast expanse of land and rich natural resources, political liberty, widespread education, and unlimited opportunity for the common man made the people particularly susceptible to the idea of progress. Americans were confident of their Manifest Destiny. They naturally accepted reformist views which found support in the optimistic pragmatism of William James and the progressive outlook of John Dewey.

In England, in spite of German industrial and commercial competition, the Boer War, and the abandonment of "splendid isolation," most people still believed with Kipling that they were successfully carrying "the white

¹⁶ W. R. Inge, *The Idea of Progress* (The Romanes Lecture, Oxford, 1920), p. 9. Concerning Spencer's gospel of "the evolution of the simple into the complex by successive differentiations," Inge says: "As a universal law of nature, it is ludicrously untrue" (p. 12).

¹⁷ Arthur A. Ekirch, *The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860* (New York, 1944); Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Philadelphia, 1945); Charles A. Beard, introduction to Bury's *Idea of Progress; A Century of Progress* (New York, 1933); and his many other well-known books; Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943).

man's burden." The Liberals had just won their greatest parliamentary majority. H. G. Wells was beginning his educational campaign for social betterment. Notwithstanding critics of Herbert Spencer, a note of confident optimism was reflected in such new co-operative historical works as Traill's *Social England: A Record of the Progress of the People in Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature, and Manners*, and the *Cambridge Modern History* where Mandell Creighton wrote in the introductory note: "We are bound to assume . . . a progress in human affairs."

In France the Dreyfus Affair weakened militarism and saw the triumph of justice, but left society bitterly divided. Some writers like Huysmans and Rémy de Gourmont toyed with the idea of decadence. Georges Sorel soon wrote a book on "the illusions of progress," but it did not have great influence.¹⁸ Germany stood like a cloud on the eastern horizon. But the Paris Exposition of 1900, like the London Exhibition of 1851, demonstrated the wonderful material progress of the age and seemed to give hope of better international relations. The first Hague Peace Conference had just met. People were hopefully studying new international languages like Esperanto and Volapük. Bergson's *Creative Evolution* and *élan vital* soon stimulated the same optimistic attitude as James's pragmatism.

In Germany Maximilian Harden's merciless attacks on the unhealthy atmosphere of Kaiser Wilhelm's court, and Bülow's façade of false optimism, made serious people uncomfortable. In spite of tremendous industrial and commercial expansion, Germans were beginning to feel "encircled." As university attendance increased, quality declined. There was dissatisfaction with secondary education also.¹⁹ Nietzsche had declared: "Never was the world more worldly, never poorer in goodness and love. . . . Men of learning are no longer beacons or sanctuaries in the midst of this turmoil of worldliness. . . . Everything bows before the coming barbarism, art and science included."²⁰ His pessimism made a deep impression, especially upon the intellectual elite who were losing touch more and more with the German masses, and undermined their faith in the idea of progress.

In Russia there was relatively less belief in the idea. Prince Kropotkin, to be sure, living abroad, preached social progress through mutual aid in-

¹⁸ Georges Sorel, *Les illusions du progrès* (Paris, 1908).

¹⁹ For pessimism about academic life, see the personal recollections of Hubertus zu Loewenstein in his *The Germans in History* (New York, 1945), chap. 29. See also F. C. Sell, "Intellectual Liberalism in Germany about 1900," *Journal of Modern History*, XV (September, 1943) 227-36.

²⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thoughts out of Season*, Part II, tr. by Adrian Collins (London, 1909), p. 136. Spengler in the preface to *The Decline of the West* (New York, 1926), I, xiv, says Goethe and Nietzsche were the two men "to whom I owe practically everything." See also Hans Thomas, "Das Ende des 'Fortschrittes'" in *Die Tat*, XXV (August, 1933), 354-64.

stead of through Spencer's doctrine of competition and survival of the fittest.²¹ The Slavophiles and the church, placing their faith in Russia's cultural past, denounced it as a dangerous, Western, and atheistic doctrine which ruled out Divine Providence and even immortality. "It addresses itself with infinite optimism to the future and with infinite pessimism to the past," wrote Berdyaev. "It is profoundly hostile to the Christian expectation of resurrection for all mankind, for all the dead, fathers and forefathers. . . . There is no such thing in history as progress from good to perfect . . . in virtue of which some future generation may exalt itself at the expense of all those that have gone before. There is no such thing in history as simple progress in human happiness."²² One little Russian group, however, the strict Marxians, many of whom were in prison or exile, looked for progress through the proletarian revolution, but their prospects were slight before 1905, though pregnant for the future.

Optimism about the "progress of civilization" received a rude shock from the war of 1914-18, the uneasy years of unemployment and depression, the failure of the League of Nations, and the frightful horrors and hatreds of World War II and its aftermath. Civilization seemed to be turned back several centuries. There was less inclination to think of progress as a steady, rectilinear, and inevitable advance of man towards a better goal and greater happiness. More attention was focused on the stages where he halted or slipped back. There was more emphasis on the cycle theory that civilizations rise and fall, advance and retreat. There were warnings that even our much-vaunted Western civilization might be at one of the downward turns of the cycle.

Meanwhile great advances in physics, archaeology, and anthropology enormously widened our horizon since the days of Darwin and Spencer. From the disintegration of radioactive substances and from fossil finds it was estimated that life had existed on this planet for half a billion years, and that human beings had been evolving through a million generations. It is not necessary to believe that man branched off from any existing species of apes, or that the prehistoric skulls and bones belong to direct ancestors of historic *Homo sapiens*; they may represent branch lines that died out after evolving from the same common ancestor as *Homo sapiens*. From silt deposits in lakes and from rings of trees chronology can be definitely established in America a thousand years before Columbus landed and in Europe very much earlier.²³

²¹ Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (London, 1902).

²² Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Meaning of History* (London, 1936), pp. 189, 192; based on notes of lectures delivered at Moscow in 1919-20.

²³ Frederick E. Zeuner, *Dating the Past: An Introduction to Geochronology* (London, 1946);

With fuller knowledge of some 650 primitive societies²⁴ and many civilizations, students turned from the abstract progress of mankind as a whole to a detailed analysis and comparison of individual civilizations. This placed our Western civilization in a more modest perspective and toned down egocentric illusions about its unique superiority. To take three examples:

Oswald Spengler selects several distinct civilizations, which in their earlier stages he calls "cultures."²⁵ With erudite information from wide areas he claims to discover by "perceptive intuition" a "morphology of history." Using unsound analogies, he asserts that these cultures passed through a cycle corresponding to spring, summer, autumn, and winter. He is absolutely sure in his own mind that our Western civilization has declined into the last stage. His dogmatic work had a considerable vogue, especially in Germany, where it fitted in with the pessimistic postwar mood resulting from defeat, the Versailles Treaty, inflation, unemployment, and political instability. It is, however, philosophy, not history, stimulating but not convincing. Arnold J. Toynbee passes over primitive societies, which like rabbits are numerous but small and short-lived, and devotes his attention to civilizations, which like elephants are relatively large and long-lived. Of the twenty-six civilizations whose growth and decay he examines at great length, sixteen are dead and buried. Of the remaining ten, three are cases of arrested development, and six "have marks of already having broken down and gone into disintegration," and "are under threat of annihilation and assimilation by our own civilization of the West."²⁶ If twenty-five out of twenty-six civilizations are already dead, declining, or arrested, can we assume that Western civilization may not some day suffer a similar fate? Toynbee is rather noncommittal.²⁷ He does believe, however, in the light of the rhythmic history of other civilizations, that Western civilization entered a stage of decline with the sixteenth century Wars of Religion; that, in accordance with what he calls "the law of Challenge-and-Response," it rallied in the eighteenth century; but that since then, with the demonic forces of nationalism, industrialism, and expansion, it is now threatened with social disintegration. Western man, he says, "has been overtaken by a mistrust of his own *élan* and an uncertainty about his own future which (to judge by precedents) are ominous symp-

Robert H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York, 1937); and the writings of Sir James Jeans, J. S. B. Haldane, Ellsworth Huntington, and the imaginative interpretation of George R. Stewart, *Man: An Autobiography* (New York, 1946).

²⁴ Conveniently listed in Quincy Wright, *A Study of War* (2 vols., Chicago, 1942), I, 527-59.

²⁵ Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (2 vols., New York, 1929); his manuscript was ready when the World War broke out, was then worked over again and published in German in 1918-22.

²⁶ Toynbee, IV, 1-4.

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 37, 159; IV, 3-4, 407-408; and note 4 above.

toms.”²⁸ Whether or not one largely accepts Toynbee’s classifications and conclusions, his immense learning and breadth of vision demand that his views be given serious consideration in assessing the idea of progress today.

A. L. Kroeber surveys the configurations of cultural growth of several great civilizations which have flowered and withered. Why is it, he inquires, that there are periods when starry clusters of men of genius or great achievement in science, philosophy, and the creative arts arise, as in Periclean Athens, the Renaissance, Elizabethan England, or early nineteenth century Germany, only to be followed by periods comparatively barren in achievement? Unlike Spengler and Toynbee, he does not find that cultures rise and decline according to any clearly recognizable law or cycle of development. His charts show that sometimes they rise swiftly to a peak, and then fall slowly; sometimes they rise slowly, and then fall off abruptly. They do not necessarily die, but may sometimes be replaced or permeated by other more vigorous cultures and so disappear. They are, however, always going through internal fluctuations through variations in the cultural patterns. When the cultural patterns are in harmony and relatively stable, there is high level of achievement and clusters of geniuses are likely to appear. After this optimum situation has been reached, the successful development seems to bring exhaustion. New variations occur and the old patterns break down until the culture disappears, or until a new reforming of patterns leads to a new harmony and period of achievement. In Western civilization since about 1880, and more strongly since 1900, all the creative arts, he thinks, have shown increasing symptoms of such a breakdown or pattern dissolution: instead of the harmony of Beethoven, jagged rhythms and dissonance in music, free verse in poetry with lines beginning without capitals and ending without rhymes, plotless novels, cubism and surrealism in sculpture and painting. These sensational novelties represent a groping after new patterns. They occur because the established patterns have gone stale, or become mechanical and unproductive through exhaustion. If twentieth century mortals find that they can imitate but not equal Goethe or Beethoven, they try something new. They wreck the old patterns instead of trying to preserve them through futile imitation.²⁹

Kroeber’s theory of cultural dissolution since about 1880 acquires increased interest from a parallel process in industrial life described by Elton Mayo. Though the impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt earlier in England, it was not until about 1880 that it began to disintegrate social patterns in the

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 133.

²⁹ A. L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Berkeley, 1944).

United States, Germany, and other countries in a subtler way than was generally understood at the time, in spite of the writings of Frédéric Le Play and Durckheim. In the small towns of the earlier nineteenth century, industries were on a relatively small scale and the pattern of life was stable and harmonious. The employer knew personally the twenty-five or fifty men in his business, and they knew one another. They had grown up together, called each other by their first names, and were bound together by social ties of family, church, and community life. They had well-established routines and rituals, knew what was expected of them, talked freely and intimately with one another, and co-operated efficiently and contentedly.

During the twentieth century machine age all this changed. The huge aggregations of factory workers today hardly ever see the stockholders and officials who own and control the works; they know only foremen whom they too often regard with suspicion and dislike. They live at a distance from the factory, isolated in scattered suburbs, without much community social life and without old family friends with whom they can talk over their problems. Instead of spending the evening visiting neighbors or at home in household chores or reading, they seek distraction at the movies or listen to the confusing noise of the radio. Formerly man controlled the machine; now the machine controls the man. Driven to keep up with the moving mass-production line, his work is monotonously repetitious, uninteresting, and nerve-tiring, compared with the old handicrafts or small factory. Forced back upon himself, without the old established routines of social life, he is apt to become a prey to unhappy and obsessive personal preoccupations. He is "agin the boss." He does not co-operate efficiently even with his fellow workers, and readily listens to incitements to strike. Scientific studies have shown that it is often not so much a question of wages and hours of work as this psychological isolation and breakdown of social routines that underlie industrial unrest, prevent maximum production, and cause restless shifting from one job to another. The patterns of the old established society have broken down, and no satisfactory adaptive adjustment has been made to the new economic conditions. Fortunately, scientific investigations of the facts are now being made and attracting the attention of progressive business managers. If the result is the building up of a new pattern for an "adaptive society," it will mean social progress.³⁰

The most striking fact about progress during the past fifty or sixty years is that it has been very uneven in different fields of human activity. In man's

³⁰ Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), especially chap. 1, "The Seamy Side of Progress."

control over nature the advance has been amazing, particularly during the war years. Discoveries in physics, chemistry, medicine, and all sorts of technological skills have accelerated at a faster rate than ever before. As one physicist has put it:

In my own lifetime has occurred the development of every single thing which now distinguishes a high from a low standard of living. When I was born the telephone had been invented but was not in use. Electric power, the internal combustion engine, x-rays, moving pictures, the airplane, radio; even central heating, good roads, and a continuous supply of fresh food have all come since I was born. The world into which I was born was more like that of Julius Caesar than like that of the present day. If politics doesn't interfere I see no reason to doubt that when my son shall reach my present age he may again say, "Of all we have the better half has been developed during my lifetime."³¹

This tremendous material progress has not been accompanied by any corresponding advance in other fields. In the creative arts few people would assert that it has been a period of very high level of achievement. One looks in vain for outstanding geniuses in music, poetry, painting, or sculpture. In moral and spiritual matters millions of men, having lost the strength and guidance which they used to draw from the teachings of the institutional church, are morally adrift or spiritually indifferent. They have not yet discovered a better way of life than that indicated by the essential principles of Christianity, but they find these principles intertwined with unacceptable dogmas. They have not learned how to reinterpret and adapt Christian values to the social and economic environment of the present, which is entirely different from the small communities in which Christian experience was first formulated.³²

Other millions look for a substitute for traditional religion in the gospel of Marxian Socialism. It is politically important because its ideology makes a strong appeal to the masses. It claims to be scientific, inevitable, and in accordance with economic development. It looks to a practical millennium of liberty and equality in this world instead of individual blessedness in the next. It is greater than individual religion because it is a religion of humanity.³³ But Socialists have twice suffered bitter disillusionment: when they failed to

³¹ H. B. Phillips, "On the Nature of Progress," *American Scientist*, XXXIII (October, 1945), 259.

³² Cf. Karl Mannheim, *Diagnosis of Our Time* (New York, 1944), chap. vii, "Towards a New Social Philosophy: A Challenge to Christian Thinkers by a Sociologist; Christian Values and the Changing Environment."

³³ Cf. Harold J. Laski, *The Revolution of Our Time* (London, 1943); *Faith, Reason, Civilization* (London, 1944). Arthur Baumgarten, *Geschichte der abendländischen Philosophie* (Geneva, 1945), pp. 336-90, 469-76, 485-92. Baumgarten hopes that philosophy, which he thinks has made little progress since Bergson and William James, can be revitalized by a more thorough study of Marxian thought.

prevent war in 1914, and when they saw their gospel twisted into the terroristic totalitarianism of Soviet Russia. Moreover, is there any good reason to believe that a classless society—that humanity in the mass—is more likely to act altruistically than men do as individuals?

In the art of living together—in social relations both as individuals and as nations—the record has been dismal. Natural science has far outstripped social science. Our social skills have not kept pace with our technical skills. The consequences to society of this unbalance have been disastrous. We have discovered how to split the atom but not how to make sure that it will be used for the improvement and not the destruction of civilization. Mayo goes so far as to say that “if our social skills had advanced step by step with our technical skills, there would not have been another European war.”⁸⁴ However that may be, it is certain that industrial strikes have become more frequent and more paralyzing. Divorces, automobile casualties, crimes of violence have multiplied. Two world wars, the second more frightful in its conduct and more catastrophic in its consequences, witness to man’s unparalleled capacity for destruction and his slight capacity for reconstruction. In Europe the war legacy of ruin, semistarvation, death, hatred, fear, frustration, and national selfishness seem to make international co-operation and sane reconstruction impossible. In Palestine, India, and the Far East the conflicts are ominous. Diplomacy does not suggest that there has been progress. In 1815 statesmen made a wise and generous peace of equilibrium which averted general war for a century. In 1919 politicians in six months made a settlement which, in spite of its defects and the failure to execute its provisions, embodied a hope in the League of Nations. In 1946, more than twelve months after unconditional surrender, conflicting ideologies brought not peace but sharp recriminations and ominous talk of the possibility of a third world war. The conviction seemed to be growing that the Soviet system and the capitalist system threatened each other’s security, and that each must strengthen its own position instead of doing its utmost to build a world community through strengthening and relying on the United Nations organization. Though there are some brighter sides to this gloomy picture, it is difficult to believe that the past fifty or sixty years have been marked by social progress.

The era might be epitomized in the life of one of its most intelligent representatives, the late H. G. Wells. In the stable days of Victorian contentment his imagination in *The Time Machine* took the reader far into the future, and in *The War of the Worlds* he forecast future air-warfare, armored ma-

⁸⁴ Mayo, p. 9.

chines, and destruction which technological progress was soon to make a reality. He optimistically devoted a dozen books to educate public opinion to a reconstruction of society in which there would be liberty and equality for the individual and peace in a world community. He died a sadly disillusioned man, pessimistically observing "the ever swifter whirlpool of disaster in which man is spinning."⁸⁵

To sum up, one may say that the idea of progress today is acclaimed less confidently than in the optimistic days of a generation or two ago. We can believe that through the ages man has made a slow, haphazard progress that found expression in various civilizations. The majority of these have flowered and withered, sometimes without contributing much to man's permanent heritage. The progress of individual civilizations, and of mankind as a whole, has been by oscillations of advance and retreat, but it is difficult to see any clearly recognizable laws or rhythm governing their rise and fall. Progress is not constant, automatic, and inevitable in accordance with cosmic laws, but is possible and even probable as a result of man's conscious and purposeful efforts.

In conclusion, our Western civilization represents one of the longest and most complete advances, but during the past fifty years in many respects shows signs of halting or slipping back. This, however, is no reason for pessimism or defeatism. If we have been passing through one of the low points in an oscillation, there is no sufficient reason to think that an upswing may not follow. Other civilizations may have declined and died, but Western civilization has shown a peculiar vitality. By its vigor it has expanded throughout the earth and permeated other cultures. Through the invention of printing and other discoveries its accumulated achievements have been so multiplied and distributed that even an atomic war could not obliterate it. The mountain climber must often slip down a decline before he struggles up to new heights. Western civilization, in spite of the developing miracle of science, may in some other respects have reached a depression before beginning a new ascent. Our destiny is in our hands. That is the challenge and opportunity that we mountain climbers face.

⁸⁵ H. G. Wells, '42 to '44: *A Contemporary Memoir upon Human Behaviour during the Crisis of World Revolution* (London, 1943), p. 9; see also his *Mind at the End of Its Tether* (London, 1945).

Duff Green, Militant Journalist of the Old School

FLETCHER M. GREEN*

DUFF Green (born near Versailles, Kentucky, in 1791, died at Dalton, Georgia, in 1875) as editor of the *United States Telegraph* "was known and felt from one extremity of the Union to the other."¹ In fact he and the *Telegraph* were for a time as well known as Francis P. Blair and the *Globe* or Horace Greeley and the New York *Tribune*. A man of versatile interests, wide information, shrewd insight into human nature, with a penchant for political intrigue, and an unflagging industry, he had an interesting and varied career. He was successively a medical student, a school teacher, a surgeon in the War of 1812, an early "chain store" merchant, a government land surveyor and founder of towns on the frontier, a lawyer, a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820 and of both houses of the state legislature, a government mail contractor, a brigadier general in Indian warfare, a railroad builder and industrial promoter, a consular and diplomatic agent to Texas and Europe, and a writer on finance and currency, as well as owner and editor of several newspapers. He dabbled in so many things that he succeeded in few; he was often referred to as "the ubiquitous General Green."²

Green's journalistic career began in 1824 when he purchased and became the editor of the St. Louis *Enquirer*. In the first issue of the paper after he assumed control, Green announced his editorial policy as follows:

Aware of the high responsibility we have assumed, as editor of a public paper, we enter on our duty determined to adhere to "principles not men." A due regard to public opinion, will always keep the columns of *The Enquirer* open to fair and proper discussion, and temperate essays on public men and public measures are respectfully invited. . . .

In relation to Home Politics, our party will be the People—our favorites those men whom we believe best calculated to advance their interests. The old friends of Missouri . . . will find in the *St. Louis Enquirer*, the bold and fearless asserter of

*The author is Kenan professor of history in the University of North Carolina.

¹ J. L. P. Smith to Asa Packer, Oct. 18, 1867, manuscript letter in the possession of the author.

² For a short sketch of Green's career see Fletcher M. Green, "Duff Green," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), VII, 540-41.

their rights and privileges. This paper will guard against the arts of faction under whatever form it may assume. . . .

We will support the pretensions of no man for the Presidency who is not identified in its [Monroe's administration] leading measures. It is now time that the people should think for themselves, and determine who shall be supported by the republican party.³

The *Enquirer* had been an ardent champion of Henry Clay for the presidency, but Green immediately switched it to the support of John C. Calhoun.⁴ Green was deeply interested in a downward revision of the tariff and the development of internal improvements, on both of which he thought Calhoun was sound. Green advocated the right of the people to choose their own candidates and was bitterly disappointed when a caucus of the South Carolina legislature nominated Calhoun for the presidency. He declared: "We have always been opposed to caucus nomination, whether made by members of Congress or a state legislature—whether the result of their plottings were favorable or unfavorable to our wishes. . . ."⁵ Green continued, however, to support Calhoun until the latter accepted Pennsylvania's nomination as vice-president on the ticket with Andrew Jackson; he then transferred his support to Old Hickory.⁶

After Jackson's defeat in the House of Representatives, Green decided to remove to Washington and to publish a newspaper devoted to Jackson's interests in the presidential campaign of 1828. He sold the *Enquirer* but bought another press and entered into a contract with Calvin Green (no relative) to publish a newspaper at Jefferson City, Missouri, "devoted to the same politics that have been advocated by the said [Duff] Green as editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*."⁷ On removing to Washington, Green purchased the *United States Telegraph* from John S. Meehan,⁸ through which he assailed the Adams administration for "bargain, intrigue, and corruption," and advocated the election of Jackson.

The press of the Jacksonian era was intensely partisan, being violently for or against Jackson, and the *Telegraph* was the leader of the pro-Jackson newspapers. Through it Green proclaimed that "the people call for *reform*. They believe, and they have good cause to believe, that a reformation is necessary. . . . They have confidence in Gen. Jackson . . . and they know that he will let loose the sluices upon the Augean stables." On the other hand, said he, "The experience furnished by the present Administration, confirms them

³ *St. Louis Enquirer*, Jan. 3, 1824.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1824.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1824.

⁶ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1824.

⁷ Contract between Duff Green and Calvin Green, Aug. 20, 1825, manuscript in the possession of the author.

⁸ *United States Telegraph*, Feb. 6, Apr. 20, 1826.

[the people] in the opinion, that Messrs. Adams and Clay will perpetuate abuses by the substitution of *precedent* for principle . . . [and by a combination of] *power, patronage, bargain, intrigue* and *management*, corrupt the people themselves . . . and overthrow republican principles."⁹ As the campaign drew to a close, Green daily exhorted the people: "To the Polls—to the Polls. . . . Let no one stay at home. . . . Let not a vote be lost. Let each Freeman do his duty; and all will triumph in the success of Jackson, Calhoun, and Liberty."¹⁰ Green set the tone and the Jackson press followed him.

That Green and the *Telegraph* were major factors in the campaign was recognized by both the Jackson and the opposition press. The Louisville *Public Advertiser* said, in May, 1826, that the *Telegraph* was ably conducted by an editor characterized by "a firm determination to maintain the purity of . . . republican institutions and the rights of the people, and fearlessly to expose the errors and malpractices of the [Adams] administration." The *National Journal*, ardent supporter of Adams, countered with the statement:

The profligate conductors of the *Telegraph* have . . . added to the infamous reputation of that scurrilous and abandoned print. They have now established for it and themselves a character for baseness and malignity, that must destroy it forever in the estimation of all honest men. Purchased and established to advance the interests of its owners at the expense of truth, and decency, and morality, it has found no slander too vile, no falsehood too gross, no calumny too malicious for its purpose; and the creature employed by its managers—a stranger to decency, destitute of honor, and unfortunately for society, an irresponsible agent—strikes as he is directed reckless of the consequences, well aware that being a shadow, justice has no terrors for him, and the contempt of mankind cannot reach him.¹¹

As to Green it must be said that he spent more time in defending himself from charges of adultery, dueling, gambling, and murder than he did in making attacks upon the personalities of the opponents. He did, of course, attack the record of Adams and Clay; and he wanted to begin an attack on the character of Mrs. John Quincy Adams to offset the slanderous charges of adultery against General and Mrs. Jackson. But Jackson said, "never attack against females,"¹² and Green desisted.

In his campaign of slander, mudslinging, and vituperation, Green's veracity was often repugned and his character vilified. He was accused of "coarseness and vulgarity of invective," of "vile abuse, vulgar scurrility, and foul calumny," and of "disregarding all the charities and decencies and courtesies of political controversy." As the major target of the opposition party press,

⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1828.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 23, 29, 1828.

¹¹ *National Journal*, June 18, 1827.

¹² John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (6 vols., Washington, 1926-33), III, 377.

Green was called a "wretched driveller," a "liar," a "scoundrel," a "poltroon," and the "mendicant of his party."¹³ When Green boasted that the circulation of the *Telegraph* had reached forty thousand, the opposition press immediately began to refer to his paper as the "*Tel-Lie-Graph*." But such epithets did not curb Green's spirit and for each he received he returned in kind, full measure, pressed down, and running over. The Jackson press staunchly defended Green as "the able, bold, and faithful champion of the people," "the talented editor" who "shrunk neither from duty nor danger," but "fought the enemy with zeal, talent, fearlessness and ability."¹⁴ Green was toasted in Boston as "the upright statesman, the firm patriot, the pure democrat, the vigilant sentinel, the accurate observer, who by means of his *Telegraph* has disseminated truth throughout the Union, appalled the aristocracy, aroused the sleepy, dislodged the Fence Men, and encouraged every honest man."¹⁵ James Watson Webb of the New York *Courier and Enquirer* found Green "an industrious, honorable, high minded man, of much tact and sagacity—superior business habits—[and] accurate acquaintance with the politics of the Union."¹⁶

After the election the press generally gave Green and the *Telegraph* much of the credit for Jackson's victory. The Nashville *Republican* said: "We are much gratified to find that the Editor of the *United States Telegraph* is receiving the just reward of his labors, in daily and flattering tributes of public applause; and that the most intelligent editors of the Republican party, concede to him the honor of preeminent zeal, and efficiency in the late triumphant struggle of the people against the corrupt coalition. To his vigilant and industry, patriotic ardor and invincible courage, the citizens of this powerful republic, in a great degree, owe the preservation of that liberty which we hold so dear."¹⁷ The Charleston *Mercury* observed: "The opposition which they have long endeavoured, by every species of calumny and defamatory papers to injure the character and destroy the influence of the *United States Telegraph*, to inaugurate such a course, perhaps was to have been expected of them. Such a course, principally owing to the exertions of the *Telegraph* that the Union was defeated." The Warrenton (Virginia) *Gazette* declared that the

¹³ Green himself reprinted all these condemnations in the *Telegraph*. Among the papers quoted were the Rochester *Telegraph*, the Windsor *Journal*, the *Journal of the Times*, the *Constitutional Whig*, the *National Journal*, and the *Georgia Journal*.

¹⁴ Among the many journals that praised Green and the *Telegraph* were the *New Hampshire Gazette*, the *Rhode Island Republican Herald*, the *Troy Budget*, the *Maine Patriot*, the *Boston Statesman*, the *Hartford Times*, the *Literary Subaltern*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *Pennsylvania Reporter*, the *Cincinnati Republican*, the *Ohio Patriot*, and the *Albany Argus*.

¹⁵ Boston *Statesman*, Jan. 16, 1829.

¹⁶ New York *Courier and Enquirer*, Feb. 14, 1829.

¹⁷ Nashville *Republican*, Jan. 13, 1829.

friends of General Jackson had "a deep interest in repelling the unjustifiable aspersions on the character of Gen. Green—his fame is very considerably identified with their success—no person of candor will deny that the exertions and ability of Gen. Green was a most efficient means of effecting the results of the election last fall."¹⁸

The press of the Jacksonian era was highly personalized, and the newspapers bore the distinct impress of the personality of their editors. So true was this that a newspaper was often called by the editor's name, as Noah's *Enquirer*, Blair's *Globe*, and Green's *Telegraph*. The editors filled their papers with malicious squibs and furious diatribes against each other and were held to a strict accountability for all that appeared in their columns. Prior to the Civil War an editor who had not had a personal encounter was a rare one. Even the peaceful William Cullen Bryant "fell upon a rival journalist with a horsewhip on Broadway, New York."¹⁹ Green ran true to form. He was utterly fearless, wrote with a pen dipped in vitriol, and never failed an opportunity to strike an opponent. Consequently he was often in controversies that led to personal encounters. Notable were the affairs with Edward Vernon Sparhawk, James Watson Webb, and James Blair.

Green accused Sparhawk, a reporter on the *National Intelligencer*, of willfully and maliciously misquoting the *Telegraph's* report of one of John Randolph's speeches on slavery. Sparhawk was warned not to repeat the offense but did so, and on January 25, 1828, Green attacked him in the rooms of the Senate Committee on Claims. Sparhawk charged that Green, "armed with a bludgeon," "pulled his hair and gouged his eyes." Green denied that he was armed or that he gouged Sparhawk's eyes; but he boasted that Sparhawk's "nose was wrung, and his ears, both of them, pulled." "But in wringing his nose and pulling his ears, the undersigned had no intention to offer Mr. Sparhawk any other injury; his sole object being, not to hurt, but to disgrace him."²⁰ The *Rochester Telegraph* thought that Green's "piratical countenance and snake eyes" were an index to the villainy that caused him to appeal to "Club law."

The Webb-Green affair was a ludicrous one. Webb, of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, in 1829 suggested Martin Van Buren for the Democratic candidate for president in 1832. Green objected to this, and a quarrel developed. Webb on May 6, 1830, went down to Washington threatening to

¹⁸ Both the *Charleston Mercury* and the *Warrenton Gazette* articles were reprinted in the *United States Telegraph*, of Oct. 17, 1829.

¹⁹ Frank Luther Mott and Ralph D. Casey, *Interpretations of Journalism: A Book of Readings* (New York, 1937), p. 143.

For Green's account of the affair see the *United States Telegraph*, Feb. 1, 11, 1828.

horsewhip Green before Congress. The two met at the entrance of the Capitol, Webb armed with a stick. According to Webb he saluted Green as a "poor contemptible, cowardly puppy"; whereupon Green drew a pistol. Webb offered to throw away his cane if Green would throw away his gun. Then, "I will pull your nose and box your ears," said Webb. According to Green he ordered Webb to march out of his path. Webb replied, "I will not." Green said, "You *shall*," and cocked his pistol; whereupon Webb ran up the steps and into the House. Green closed his account with the statement that "the whole affair was a ridiculous farce—and I beg pardon of my readers for obtruding it before them." Green later posted Webb as a "despicable character." Webb smarted under Green's castigation and in 1832 sought revenge. He sent Samuel B. Barrell to secure an apology and a retraction of the statement, with the intention of challenging Green to a duel if he refused to apologize; but Green cowhided Barrell as Webb's personal representative and the matter was permitted to die.²¹

Green's encounter with James Blair, a representative in Congress from South Carolina, was a serious affair. During the heat of the nullification controversy Green called the members of the Union party "Tories." Blair warned Green that if he did so again he would have to take the consequences. On December 23, 1832, Green repeated his charges. On December 24 Blair, a giant in stature, came into Pennsylvania Avenue behind Green and, without warning, knocked him down with his cane, kicked him into the gutter, and jumped on him with all his three hundred and fifty pounds. He broke Green's arm, collar bone, and several ribs, and dislocated a leg. From his hospital bed, Green the next day dictated an editorial entitled "Brute Force," in which he repeated his former charges and added that Blair was not only "a Tory but a traitor," a coward, and a liar. The *National Gazette* denounced Blair's attack as "one of the most brutal, cowardly, and disgraceful outrages, it has ever been our duty to record." The *Boston Advocate* said, "We admire the energy of General Green, and though we condemn his cause [nullification], we rejoice to see him sustain the spirit of the free press, with a moral courage that cannot be bullied from its course by clubs and threats or broken limbs." Green later sued Blair and the courts awarded him \$350 as damages.²²

²¹ For Webb's account of this affair see the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, May 10, 1830; for Green's account see the *United States Telegraph*, May 13, 1830. For the whipping of Barrell see the *United States Telegraph*, Feb. 8, 10, 1832. For general treatments see Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872* (New York, 1873), pp. 353-54, and Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1838-1851* (New York, 1927), I, 24.

²² *United States Telegraph*, Dec. 25, 28, 1832, and Jan. 31, 1833. The issues of December 31, 1832, and January 8, 9, 1833, carry statements from many newspapers in addition to those quoted. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* said that "not a single public journal has attempted to palliate or defend the brutality of General Blair."

Writing of the editors of the ante-bellum period, Henry Watterson said that "most of the personal journalists were in alliance with the contemporary politicians; all of them were the slaves of the party."²³ The latter half of this statement is inaccurate when applied to Green, for, while his *Telegraph* was the recognized organ of the Jackson forces, Green time and time again asserted his independence and stoutly maintained that his was no "Collar press." Only six months after Jackson was inaugurated, Green published an editorial in which he said the opposition editors "mistake the relation we bear to this administration, if they suppose that we are its humble apologists; that we must seal our lips, nor venture to speak without permission. . . . It is the duty of the press to speak of public men, and at proper times to remind them of the principles which they are pledged to maintain."²⁴ And again: "If we know in what the freedom of the press consists, it is the unbiased and fearless expressions of our opinions of public men and public measures, giving to others also the use of our columns for free discussion." This course Green steadfastly adhered to, and he reprinted from the opposition press many exceedingly bitter attacks on himself and the men and measures he supported.

Green had great weight with the Jackson administration. He was made printer to both houses of Congress and to several of the executive departments. He was a member of the Jackson Central Committee and one of the managers of the party. The *Telegraph* was the official organ of the administration, and Green became, at least temporarily, one of Jackson's intimate advisers and "brain trusters" as a member of the "Kitchen Cabinet."²⁵ The Richmond *Whig* declared that he exercised "unbounded influence over the mind of Gen. Jackson. We understand that no appointment has been made, that Duff was not known to have approved either by signing a recommendation, or by a viva voce expression of approbation." The Baltimore *Patriot* regularly referred to Green as the "Notorious Dictator," and to Jackson as the "agent of Duff Green in the business" of appointments.²⁶ Denying that he controlled appointments, Green declared that the *Telegraph* had a higher duty to perform, and as "it has never ceased on proper occasions to sustain the measures of the Government, when those measures required to be defended . . . so it never will forfeit its independence to restrain the patronage." If General Jackson should forget those principles on which the people

²³ Mott and Casey, p. 144.

²⁴ *United States Telegraph*, Sept. 3, 1829.

²⁵ Green persistently denied that he belonged to the "Kitchen Cabinet," but almost all contemporary writers placed him in that group.

²⁶ The *Whig's* statement is quoted from the *United States Telegraph*, Apr. 21, 1829, and the *Patriot's* from May 14, 1829.

elected him, "he will find us at our post . . . ever ready to advocate those principles and defend those rights" against any force.²⁷

When President Jackson broke with John C. Calhoun in 1830 over Calhoun's position while Secretary of War on Jackson's invasion of Florida, the *Telegraph* lost its favored position and was gradually supplanted by Blair's *Globe*. From that date until it folded up in 1837, Green used the *Telegraph* to attack the Jackson-Van Buren forces, to advocate the political advancement of Calhoun, and to urge the Southern people to unite in opposition to protective tariff and abolition and in defense of Southern rights. Green lamented the break between Jackson and Calhoun, exonerated the President, expressed belief that the correspondence between the two completely vindicated Calhoun, and placed all the blame for the break on Van Buren, who, said Green, "undoubtedly anticipated . . . personal advantage in the affair." Green was sure the revival of the cabinet controversy was plotted and contrived solely for a "political purpose,"²⁸ but he continued for some time to support the administration. The *Western Carolinian*, commenting on the internal party squabble, lamented in May, 1831, that the *Globe* was taking the *Telegraph's* place. It declared that the President had

. . . no better friend than the editor of the *Telegraph*. He does not blindly approve every act of the Administration whether right or wrong, but ventures like a trusty and honest counsellor to speak out his opinions boldly when they conflict with those of the President. . . . General Green is an honest politician of the democratic republican school. He professes his willingness, and has several times avowed his fixed purpose, to support the present administration so long as its principles tally with his own and to advocate the reelection of General Jackson. We must confess [however] that the Editor of the *Telegraph* has very few inducements, . . . to support the present administration.²⁹

Green did not long continue that support. He bitterly attacked Jackson on the Bank issue, the Eaton imbroglio, the selection of Van Buren as Jackson's successor, and the nullification controversy. Green found his position on the Bank question somewhat embarrassing, for he had formerly condemned the Bank as a "monopoly more powerful than the government." The Eaton affair was more to Green's liking, for it gave him an opportunity to repeat salacious stories and, by insinuations and half-truths, to blast the reputations of his enemies. Green saw in it an effort on the part of Jackson to dictate to his cabinet and, by use of the patronage, to ruin Calhoun and to force Van Buren on the party. In a tone of high moral indignation, Green asked, "Is his [Jackson's] popularity and influence such that the people will

²⁷ *United States Telegraph*, Dec. 3, 1828, Feb. 1, 1830.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 21, 1831.

²⁹ *Western Carolinian* quoted in the *United States Telegraph*, May 2, 1831.

permit him to exercise his favoritism at the expense of those great principles which lie at the foundation of society and upon which depend public and private virtue?" In answer he declared, "If it was important to resist the influence of executive patronage when exercised by an *unpopular* chief magistrate who commands power by *accident* it is more our duty to resist an improper exercise of it when perched in the hands of a *popular* chief magistrate."³⁰

By 1832, Green had decided that he could not support Jackson for re-election. He therefore published a *United States Telegraph Extra* to oppose Jackson as he had published one in 1828 to support him. He maintained, however, that he was faithful to the principles of 1828 and that Jackson had broken faith by violating the basic principles upon which he had been elected.³¹ Green said that the only true test by which to try men and parties was

a comparison of their professions by their actions. . . . Party is, too often the *folly* of the many for the benefit of the few. Certain it is, that when the *discipline* of a party becomes more powerful than its *principles*, then it becomes the duty of the *many* to compare the actions of their leaders with their professions, and to hold these leaders to a strict accountability. . . . [Jackson] came into power opposed to the Secretary succession, opposed to exercise of Executive control over elections, opposed to the nomination of his successor by the President; opposed to abuses, and as the advocate of reform. He has violated all these principles and openly announces Mr. Van Buren as his successor, and requires all persons to vote for Mr. Van Buren under pain of excommunication from *his* party. He has broken every one of his promises.³²

From Jackson's re-election in 1832 to the end of his life Southern unity in support of Southern rights became Green's major political goal. Writing in 1832, Green said he would almost despair of the Republic if it were not for "the growth of an independent and manly party, devoted to an adherence to the constitution, and sound republican principles, which is gradually developing in the South."³³ The two matters which attracted Green's chief interest in this connection were the tariff and slavery. He did not entirely approve the expediency of South Carolina's nullification ordinance but he found nullification and the Resolutions of 1798 in perfect accord, and they "completely covered those [principles] contended for by the great State Rights Whig party of the South." Furthermore, he felt that these principles alone would insure the stability of the Union. Green pulled all the strings

³⁰ Duff Green to James Cabell, July 17, 1831, manuscript in the possession of the author; see also *United States Telegraph*, Oct. 18, 1831.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 20, 1832.

³² *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1832; see also the issues of Dec. 31, 1831, and Mar. 20, 1832.

³³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 12, 1832.

within his reach during Jackson's second administration to unite the Southern State Rights party and the Whigs behind Calhoun in 1836. He wrote to Richard K. Crallé that "all we want to make our principles triumph is an organization and energy."³⁴ These failed him, however, for the Whigs would not support Calhoun. Because he would not agree to support either Clay or Webster, the Richmond *Whig* complained that "for a man of talents, independence, honor, and patriotism, [General Green] is the most mischievous man that ever acted with a party."³⁵ To which Green replied that he stood on principle. "Give me," said he, "a candidate who will support the South on tariff and the slavery question and I will fight for him whoever he may be, despite the fact that I believe Calhoun is the strongest possible candidate." Green supported Hugh Lawson White and thus broke with Calhoun politically. He was nevertheless accused of being tied to Calhoun's political chariot as he had formerly been of being tied to Jackson. But Green proclaimed his independence: "The *Telegraph* is the servant of the public. It is the duty of the editor to inform its readers of public opinion. . . . We are actuated by a higher motive than friendship for Mr. Calhoun, or opposition to Mr. Van Buren." The *Telegraph* maintains "the principles of the democratic party, and will continue to do so; not by a subserviency to public men or an acquiescence in *their* views, but by the publication of truth and a fearless and independent support of principles."³⁶

Green's real *bête noire* was abolition. He had begun to defend the institution of slavery during the Missouri controversy in 1819 and became more rabid on the subject as time went on. The Phoenix *Gazette* said in 1833 that the *Telegraph* was "*demented* upon the subject of slavery."³⁷ Green charged the Adams administration with trying to revive the slavery controversy; but he warned that slavery was "a question . . . upon which the Southern States will not permit others to interfere. It is a question upon which they will all hold one language; and that is 'let us alone.' It is a domestic question . . . and every Southern State will unite to thrust out any impertinent intruder, who claims the right, unasked to direct their domestic affairs." He bitterly condemned those who would stir the slaves to revolt through the dissemination of abolition literature. They were, he declared, dangerous to society and should be treated as outlaws. He warned that "the fanatical movements of Garrison" should be met "promptly and efficiently," otherwise they would

³⁴ Green to Richard K. Crallé, Oct. 15, 1834, manuscript in the possession of the author; *United States Telegraph*, Jan. 26, 1835.

³⁵ Richmond *Whig* quoted in *ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1834.

³⁶ *United States Telegraph*, Apr. 18, Sept. 5, 1831.

³⁷ Phoenix *Gazette* quoted in *ibid.*, July 2, 1833.

combine "avarice, politics, and fanaticism, under the mast of religion and virtue, for the overthrow of our institutions." From the beginning of the controversy he championed slavery as a positive good. Said he: "slavery has always existed . . . and will continue forever. We go further still, and assert, that slavery as it exists, in the South, is the best form in which it can exist. . . . We deny, we boldly deny, that slavery, as it exists in the South, is the monster which it has been described to be. We deny that it is fraught with either danger or deleterious influence."³⁸

In 1833 Green predicted that the abolitionists would gradually become more extreme in their views; that to the demand for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia they would add the prohibition of slavery in the territories, the prohibition of domestic slave trade, and the abolition of slavery in the Southern states; and that they would one day nominate Van Buren for the presidency. In order to combat the movement he urged the South to unite and challenge the abolitionists at once. He himself converted the *Telegraph* into little less than an antiabolition sheet; and on September 16, 1835, he announced the publication of the *Examiner*, a weekly later called the *Reformer*, devoted to the vindication of the institution of slavery and the rights and interests of the slaveholding states.³⁹ For this Thomas Ritchie, John H. Pleasants, and other Southern editors, took him to task. They charged that the *Telegraph* was making more abolitionists than all the radical journals and pamphlets published in the North.⁴⁰ But Green persisted; he printed Thomas R. Dew's *Review of the Debate [on Slavery] in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832* in the *Telegraph* and distributed it widely in pamphlet form; and he urged Southern teachers and professors to defend slavery in their classrooms. He suggested the idea of the *Partisan Leader* to Beverly Tucker and was responsible for its publication.⁴¹ He organized the American Literary Company to publish books by Southern authors in defense of Southern institutions. Green charged that with scarce an exception "all our school books are more or less infected with the morbid sensibility which pervades the literary public on the subject of slavery. . . . I propose the organization of the American Literary Company because I believe that the most efficient means of preventing the spread of Abolition is to exclude from our

³⁸ There is hardly a single issue of the *United States Telegraph* after 1830 that does not repeat such sentiments. See in particular the issues of May 19, 1826, Sept. 21, 1831, Mar. 5, 1832, Apr. 6, 23, 1833, and Sept. 10, 1835.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1835.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 20, 21, 1835; Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View . . . from 1820 to 1850* (New York, 1854), I, 615.

⁴¹ Beverly Tucker to Duff Green, Apr. 20 and Nov. 20, 1836, in Duff Green Papers, Library of Congress.

schools and reading public the effusions of diseased philanthropists. . . . To do this we must call forth our ablest writers, our opponents must be met in the field of argument. The consciences of our people must be quieted, and the fanaticism of our neighbors counteracted."⁴² The American, or Southern Literary Company, chartered by the legislature of South Carolina with a capital stock of \$250,000, floundered upon the rock of opposition by organized typographical workers who went on strike and was forced to dissolve.

Green became so outspoken in his defense of slavery and in his attacks upon abolitionists that some of the latter threatened him with lynch law. One of several such threats is contained in the following quotation from a letter mailed to him in Washington in 1844:

Most contemptible of God's creatures: I am aware of your hatred and that of your patron (Mr. Calhoun) to everything north of Mason and Dixon's line—Thank Heaven, the North is awakening to their true condition. They see that they have been governed for many years back by a clique who believe that the world was created only for the purpose of raising cotton and the institution of slavery. They will be gulled no longer. The Northern Democracy are beginning to be tired of playing second fiddle to such men as you, and Mr. Rhett, the Son of a Bitch who had the audacity to call the honest and enlightened Yeomanry of New England low peasantry, in a speech on the floor of the House. . . . Unless you cease your infernal machinations for a dissolution of the Union which I well know you had in view while conductor of that contemptible paper, the *Telegraph*, I will take the liberty to give you another such dose as you received from the hands of Mr. Blair of S. C. . . . And if that does not suffice to put an end to your efforts, I will try something more effectual.

Yours

LYNCH⁴³

Other business interests forced Green to relinquish the editorial chair on the *Telegraph* to Richard K. Crallé in 1836 and the paper ceased publication on February 21, 1837. For ten long years Green had been continuously before the people, and he was too much of a journalist to keep away from a newspaper office. Consequently, in 1840, he established the *Pilot* in Baltimore to support the Harrison-Tyler ticket. In fact Green was said to have been the first to suggest this ticket. He had long urged a close political union of the South and West against the North and East, and Tyler's views were in close accord with his in regard to Southern rights.⁴⁴

The *Pilot* was established under the auspices of the Whig party and the friends of Harrison and Tyler, but Green insisted upon complete control of its policies, since he alone furnished the capital. He announced that the *Pilot*

⁴² *United States Telegraph*, Aug. 2, Dec. 3, 1836; Duff Green, "The American Literary Company," pp. 26-28, manuscript in the possession of the author.

⁴³ Letter in the possession of the author.

⁴⁴ Duff Green, "Political Recollections," manuscript in the possession of the author.

would "review the course of the present [Van Buren] administration, and discuss freely the fraudulent speculations in the public lands and their connection with the subsequent warfare on the banking institutions of the country" that had brought an inevitable economic depression. He predicted that "the fidelity, ability, firmness, and moderation" of Harrison and Tyler, their integrity in public life, their respect for laws and public opinion would speedily restore confidence and revive the industry, enterprise, credit, and prosperity of the country.⁴⁵ The *Pilot* was almost as influential in the success of Harrison and Tyler in 1840 as the *Telegraph* had been in that of Jackson and Calhoun in 1828. Green also published *The Tippecanoe Text Book*, the *Log Cabin Cabinet*, and *The Tippecanoe Song Book*; and he played a major role in piling up the great majority for the Whig candidates.

During the campaign, however, Green and the *Pilot* became involved in a controversy with John England, Roman Catholic bishop of the see of Charleston, over the question of the influence of the Catholic Church in politics. Green charged that the Roman Church was opposed to liberty of conscience, freedom of opinion, and freedom of the press; and that Bishop England had in a public letter urged the Catholics as a body to vote for Van Buren. According to Green, Bishop England said in the *United States Catholic Miscellany* that the Protestants had been told through the press, the pulpit, and the schools that the Catholic Church contemplated a "great religious as well as civil revolution by means of imported Catholic votes." The bishop denied these charges and declared that no man in the entire length and breadth of the country had "a more unenviable notoriety" than Green.⁴⁶ This controversy contracted the circulation of the *Pilot*; and when, after the election, Green announced that he would convert the paper into a journal largely devoted to the discussion of the political aspects of Romanism⁴⁷ its subscription list rapidly melted away; the paper was suspended in 1841.

But if the *Pilot* lost favor with the people, Green himself retained the confidence and good will of John Tyler, who succeeded to the presidency upon the death of Harrison. President Tyler sent Green to England, where he wrote numerous letters to the London *Times*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Morning Chronicle* that had considerable bearing on United States relations with England, with special regard to commerce, slavery, Texas, and credit.⁴⁸ Green's skill as a journalist was of great benefit to him on this mis-

⁴⁵ *Id.*, "Prospectus of the Pilot," Washington (Ga.) *News*, May 7, 1840; *Pilot*, Apr. 13, 1840. The name of the paper was changed to the *Pilot and Transcript*.

⁴⁶ *Pilot*, Oct. 23, Dec. 11, 1840; *United States Catholic Miscellany*, Sept. 26, 1840.

⁴⁷ Duff Green, "To the Public," *Pilot*, Jan. 25, 1841.

⁴⁸ *Id.*, *Facts and Suggestions* (New York, 1866), pp. 84-85, 127-29, 142, *et seq.*; James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York, 1897), V, 2181.

sion. He also visited Paris and published in *Le Commerce, Journal Politique et Littéraire*, March 4 to March 30, 1842, an article entitled "England and America, Examination of the Causes and Probable Results of a War between These Two Countries."⁴⁹ Charles N. Peabody republished Green's article, somewhat modified, in the *Great Western Magazine of England*, and I. C. Pray brought it out in pamphlet form. Green's efforts to influence United States foreign policy in relation to England and France had the wholehearted endorsement of President Tyler and Lewis Cass, then United States minister to France, and the acquiescence of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; but Edward Everett, American minister to England, expressed opposition in no uncertain terms.⁵⁰

Upon his return from England, Green established, in New York on January 22, 1844, the *Republic* and engaged the notorious Henry Wikoff as one of his assistant editors. He announced that it was his purpose "to establish a medium of communication between the Democratic party of the United States, and the advocates of liberal principles in Europe; to vindicate the Democratic principles of his country against erroneous opinions abroad, and counteract the intrigues and machinations of professing friends and open enemies at home. In short *The Republic* will be a free press."⁵¹ The *Republic* carried articles on social, economic, and political issues and on the character and conduct of public men. Through it, Green urged the reduction of tariff duties and postage rates, long time contracts with the railroads for carrying the mail, troops, and military supplies, and federal subsidies for railroad construction; and he opposed the creation of a national bank, the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of public lands, and efforts to restrict slavery and the slave trade. The *Republic* bitterly opposed Van Buren and urged the nomination of Calhoun by the Democratic party. The opposition charged that the *Republic* was established for the sole purpose of securing Calhoun's nomination for the presidency. This charge Green denied, although he did advocate a special Calhoun Convention for July 4, 1844. When Calhoun opposed the idea and after the regular Democratic Convention nominated James K. Polk on an expansionist platform, Green transferred his support to Polk. After the election Green shifted his interests to railroad construction and resigned the editorial chair of the *Republic* to the "Chevalier" Wikoff.

During the 1850's Green's interests were largely absorbed by railroad and mining interests. He did, however, find time to write numerous and lengthy

⁴⁹ St. George L. Sioussat, *Duff Green's England and the United States* (Worcester, 1931), pp. 36-37.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 40.

⁵¹ *Republic* (vol. I, no. 1), Jan. 22, 1844.

letters to the Nashville *True Whig*, the *Union*, the *Madisonian*, the New York *Herald*, the *North American Gazette*, and the Philadelphia *Daily Pennsylvanian*. Nearly all these communications dealt with the sectional controversy over slavery, Southern rights, and the tariff.⁵² Furthermore, Green established the short-lived *Daily American Telegraph* in 1852 and the *American Statesman* in 1857. Of the first only a few issues were published. In the first issue of the second, Green declared that the *Statesman* would "be independent. Upon the questions of the tariff, the banks, the currency, and Negro slavery . . . the Editor believes that the real issue is between the American people and their system of industry, of commerce, and of credit on one side, and foreign nations, aided by their systems of industry, of commerce, and of credit on the other." The *Statesman* would labor, therefore, to rally the whole American people on a platform of defense of their common rights. And yet, in the same issue, Green declared that the relation of master and slave in the South was not only in accord with the teachings of Christ but promoted the temporal welfare of both black and white. The abolitionists he declared were "dangerous to the peace and prosperity of the country, deserving the severest censure, and with them there should be no compromise."⁵³ Naturally such a paper could not rally the "whole American people" at Washington, and it too died a-borning.

During the Civil War Green devoted his efforts to the cause of the Confederacy, and he manufactured all kinds of iron products at his Jonesboro, Tennessee, iron works on contract with the Confederate government. But the Confederacy was hardly defeated before Green was back in Washington endeavoring to establish another newspaper. In 1868 he succeeded in getting control of the *People's Weekly* with his son, Benjamin E. Green, as editor, and himself as an "editorial contributor." In its pages he published his "Reminiscences," dealing largely with the politics of the Jacksonian era and the sectional controversy over slavery. He also wrote numerous articles condemning Radical Reconstruction, and others urging the organization of workingmen into co-operative societies.⁵⁴ But the fires of youth had largely burned out. Now seventy-seven years of age, Green's pen was no longer the trenchant, vitriolic one of the days of the *United States Telegraph*.

After the failure of the *People's Weekly*, Green continued to write for many newspapers. He contributed a series of "Political Letters" on Recon-

⁵² See particularly Duff Green, "Letters to Henry C. Carey," *North American and United States Gazette*, Dec. 20-23, 1857, and *id.*, "To the People of Pennsylvania," *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Oct. 20, 1858.

⁵³ *American Statesman* (vol. I, no. 1), Dec. 1, 1857.

⁵⁴ See particularly the issues of *People's Weekly* for Apr. 11, May 9, June 27, 1868.

struction policies to a newspaper in 1867, in which he displayed some of his old time powers of invective. In these he described Charles Sumner as "a crack brained egotist, whom much book study has made mad with one idea . . . namely: hatred of the South, intensified by the recollections of personal indignities and chastisement inflicted by a Southern man." Thaddeus Stevens, he said, was "a wicked, bad old man, a debauchee and a gambler, with all the vices, [but] without the talents or refinements of Fox." And what of Benjamin F. Wade, John Sherman, and Lyman Trumbull, he asked. Are they statesmen? "Statesmen! Bah! They have neither a comprehension of the past nor a prescience of the future. They are party politicians not statesmen."⁵⁵

Before evaluating Green's work as a journalist it would be well to revert to one episode in his career while editor of the *United States Telegraph*. In January, 1834, Green announced the opening of "The Washington Institute." His plan was to take some two hundred boys between the ages of eleven and fourteen, defray their general living expenses, including room, board, and clothing, and build an infirmary and employ a nurse and a physician to look after their general health; but the parent should be "responsible for extraordinary medical expenses." The boys would work eight hours, go to school five hours, and have the remaining eleven hours of the day for eating, sleeping, and recreation. They would be trained as printers in Green's extensive printing establishment where he published the *Jurist*, the *Medical Register*, the *Farmers and Mechanics Register*, the *Sacred Classics*, the *Telegraph*, and many books; and where he also maintained a book bindery and a stereotype foundry. Thus the students would be well trained in the printing and publishing business. In school they would study spelling, grammar, history, languages, sciences, and philosophy. After the first year each boy was to be paid from one to three dollars per week depending upon the amount of work he did. This money was to be held as a reserve fund to be turned over to the boy when he reached maturity and was ready to set up for himself. Green estimated that each boy would have a nest egg of at least \$725 by the time he became twenty-one years of age. Joined with the Institute was a school for girls under the general supervision of the Sisters of Charity; the girls also worked in Green's printing establishment.⁵⁶

At first the Institute was very popular and Green challenged any school to show a better dressed or more intelligent group of students. Boys began to leave other printing establishments and flock to Green's. Such action aroused

⁵⁵ Duff Green "Political Letters Addressed to George H. Pendleton," three unidentified clippings, dated July 4, 5, 6, 1867, in the possession of the author.

⁵⁶ *United States Telegraph*, Aug. 29, Oct. 3, 10, 1834.

the opposition of other publishers, and the Columbian Typographical Society resolved on January 11, 1834, that Green's Institute "was subversive of our rights as journeymen printers and destructive of the profession to which we belong."⁵⁷ They feared that too many boys would be trained to compete with them for their jobs. Subsequently the printers employed by Green went on strike and prevented journeymen printers from taking their places. Green was forced to abandon the Institute in 1835 after he had suffered considerable property loss and several of his boys severe injuries from the strikers. This was not only one of the early successful strikes of workingmen to protect their jobs but it also "drew the typographical organizations of the country into closer touch than anything before had done, and led directly to the national organization in 1836."⁵⁸

Samuel Bowles once said that the newspaper was "the high priest of History, the vitalizer of Society, the world's great informer, the earth's high censor, the medium of public thought and opinion, and the circulating life blood of the whole human mind. It is the great enemy of tyrants, and the right arm of liberty."⁵⁹ If this statement be only halfway true, Duff Green was one of the significant forces in molding American institutions and in shaping American history during the half century between 1825 and 1875. Certainly he helped to inform public opinion; and he continuously warned the American people that power was always stealing from the many to the few, and that they must preserve a free and independent press if they themselves were to remain free.

Dogmatic and dictatorial, Green's editorial career was distinguished for great abilities and equally great defects. He was speculative, experimental, and original in his ideas, but also restless, impulsive, and violent in controversies. "He had an extensive knowledge of the public men of the day, great intelligence, embracing a great variety of subjects, strong powers of mind, unwearied industry, and he wielded a vigorous pen."⁶⁰ That pen, facile yet trenchant, cut rough and deep but it cut effectually. "It probed the sore place of an adversary, and there it dwelt, tearing, mangling, torturing." Green's faculty of opposition was abnormally developed and he was as tenacious as a bull dog. He was a loyal friend and a bitter enemy, an apologist for the former, a ruthless opponent of the latter. He opened his batteries upon

⁵⁷ Ethelbert Stewart, *A Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers* (Indianapolis, 1907), p. 52.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51; *United States Telegraph*, June 15, 16, 1834.

⁵⁹ Mott and Casey, p. 116.

⁶⁰ Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events from the Commencement of Mr. Monroe's Administration, in 1817, to the Close of Mr. Fillmore's Administration, in 1853* (Philadelphia, 1875), I, 109-10.

his enemies with unprecedented vigor. His attacks were so bold, positive, and confident and were repeated in such thundering tones that they often convinced many followers of his enemies.

Green was a steadfast champion of the South and her rights in the Union. In fact Southern rights was the star by which he steered his course and no temptation, no menace, no fear of defeat, could ever bring him to deviate from it. Yet he loved the Union and never sanctioned secession until it was a fact, acquiescing in it only as a *fait accompli*. Even over such bitter issues as tariff and slavery in the territories he maintained that the interests of North and South were one. He believed that the North should recognize the right of Southern slaveholders in the territories because the institution of slavery was guaranteed by the Constitution; and he recognized the need of the iron and steel industries for protective duties. As Green so often phrased it, the issue was between the United States and its system of industry, commerce, and institutions on the one side and the nations of the world on the other.

The championship of a free and independent press was another salient characteristic of Green's journalistic career. The view he expressed in his first editorial that he stood for "principles not men," that his was no hireling, no collar, press was reiterated time and again in each newspaper of which he was editor. And, "If we know in what the freedom of the press consists, it is the unbiassed and fearless expression of our opinions of public men and measures, giving to others also the use of our columns for free discussion." Green himself hoped that his editorial epitaph might be a quotation taken from a bitter attack made upon him by a rival editor in the heat of the political controversy of 1832. It was as follows: "I know Green well—he has genius and courage of every kind, and is, I believe, indifferent about money except as he can make it useful in the advancement of his . . . views, and the Treasury and all else cannot bribe him."

The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe

HALVDAN KOHT*

I

THAT nationalism cannot exist without nations is self-evident. Historically, it means that the conditions of nationalism in Europe were present only with the establishment of separate nations after the dissolution of the Roman Empire. In seeking, however, for the first signs of nationalism within the nations so established, we should not feel bound by the modern conceptions of what nationalism means. Like other ideological political terms, nationalism has gone through many changes in the course of historical development, perhaps even more than others because it is just as much a psychological as a political term. In fact, primitive nationalism contains elements which have disappeared or are disappearing from the character of modern nationalism.

Within the first kingdoms founded on the ruins of the Roman Empire, Roman traditions were too strong to allow national separatism to dominate the ideas of the new leaders. Christianity, too, counteracted such a development. In this regard, historical analysis tends to confirm the view of Henri Pirenne according to which a definite breach between ancient and medieval civilization did not occur until Carolingian times. Indeed, only with the collapse of the Carolingian Empire were lasting conditions favorable to the growth of nationalistic ideas finally created. From the ninth century onward, Europe organized itself into the kingdoms that were later to form the bases of modern political life. Natural, though surprising at so early a date, was the conclusion drawn about 830, by a Frankish historian, Frechulf, bishop of Lisieux. Abandoning the almost sacred conception of the continuous existence of the Roman Empire, the bishop boldly asserted that the establishment of new kingdoms on Roman territory constituted the beginning of a new era in history.¹ The ecclesiastical author perhaps recalled the hope of St. Augustine that the Roman Empire might be replaced by the establishment of a world of small states only,² and now he thought the dream realized.

* The author was formerly professor of history in the University of Oslo and Norwegian minister of foreign affairs.

¹ Cf. W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (6. Aufl., Berlin, 1893), I, 218.

² *De civitate dei*, IV, 15 (ed. by Bernhard Dombart and Alfonsus Kalb [Leipzig, 1928], I, 164).

At any event, until several centuries later, he was the only one to express this view.

Independent medieval thought, relying upon the genius of its own age, was not apparent until the twelfth century, the period that saw also the first expressions of European nationalism. It is a remarkable fact, which the present article is intended to illustrate, that a truly national consciousness, though limited in its scope, burst forth almost simultaneously in many of the European countries. It cannot be a simple coincidence, it must rather be the natural result of parallel evolution, and, in some cases, it is even possible to trace an influence from one country to another. The common fundamental reason must be the growth of national policies in most of the kingdoms of Europe.

II

In France, the Capetian kings of the twelfth century put up a valiant struggle to bring the whole country under their sway, the idea of national unity being most clearly realized and propagated by the great statesman Abbot Suger. In this struggle they met with resistance not only from some of the great vassals but also from France's neighboring sovereigns, the king of England and the German emperor. The victories over the combined forces of such foreign enemies were hailed throughout the country as feats bringing honor to the whole people. Suger reports in his life of King Louis VI how, in 1124, this king forcefully appealed to the whole of France (*tota Francia*) to follow him against the invaders,³ and the victory was a national triumph. It is significant how Suger exulted at the deed: "Neither in our days nor in far-gone ancient times has France achieved anything more illustrious than this, nor has she with the united forces of her members proclaimed more gloriously the honor of her power than when she at one and the same time triumphed over the Roman emperor and the English king."⁴ France herself is here represented as acting through the person of her king; the nation was with him. The people is directly quoted when, in the biography of Suger, written immediately after his death (1152), it is told that by both the king and the people he was called "the father of the fatherland" (*pater patriae*).⁵

So far, however, the ideas expressed were still only those nourished within the ruling classes of the country, and it deserves special notice that the term *patria* as denoting the whole kingdom is employed by a clerical author. In France, as well as in other countries, *patria* at that time was often used to

³ A. Lecoy de la Marche, ed., *Oeuvres complètes de Suger* (Paris, 1867), p. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

designate merely a smaller district;⁶ only people who had enjoyed a classical education would be able to grasp the full meaning of the word. Obviously, such authors and leaders helped to form public opinion and prepare larger circles of the people for a conception of a nation as such. Fortunately, we are able to adduce other proofs of the expansion of national sentiments in France at the same time, and they may well be connected with the contemporary armed conflicts.

Popular sentiments, as comprehensive as they could be in an illiterate age, are expressed in the great French epic of that time, the *Chanson de Roland*. It is filled with pride in national bravery, so much so that one may regard this sentiment as the root of the whole composition. Roland is the hero of the people because of his unflinching courage, his faithful service to the king of France, and his unequalled powers as a fighter. He looks upon himself as a true representative of all who are French. He proclaims that "the French are brave and will battle valiantly" and that "there is not one coward amongst them."⁷ The author himself says that "the French are as proud as lions."⁸ He makes one of his characters tell us that they are "very noble men,"⁹ and he is much concerned about the honor of his country. The worst thing he can put into the mouth of the enemy is the scornful threat that "today sweet France will lose her honor."¹⁰ But he makes Roland, facing such disdain, pray "that France may not fall into contempt" and make certain that in the coming battle neither he nor his country will lose their renown nor their worth.¹¹

It has been a disputed question whether or not the Roland epic really does give expression to a national sentiment, and certainly we ought not to read more into it than the text, soberly interpreted, offers. If we keep within these limits, we need not fear any objection to the statement that the poem testifies to the existence of the belief in the outstanding military qualities of the French nation, and thus it is an example of one primitive form of national feeling. As such it fits perfectly into the contemporary background of victorious wars with neighbor nations, the age of Suger.

But I venture to assert that there is in the poem something more than the mere pride in military virtues. One feature is the steadily sustained praise of loyalty towards the king. By extolling this virtue the Roland epic tended to

⁶ See my article "A Specific Sense of the Word *patria* in Norse and Norman Latin," in *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, II (Paris, 1926), 93-96, with supplements by different authors, *ibid.*, III, 30-31, 87, 145; and the *Scottish Historical Review*, XXIV (Glasgow, 1927), 240-43; more completely treated in *Revue historique*, CLXXXVIII (Paris, 1940), 89-105, by G. Dupont Ferrier.

⁷ J. Bédier, ed., *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris 1922), ll. 1080, 1116.

⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 1888.

⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 377.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, l. 1223.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 1064, 1054, 1090.

make the king the center and the symbol of the whole nation, and it might support the preaching of Suger in favor of national unity under the sovereignty of the king. Another feature is the love of France itself. It is true that we should not place too much importance upon the frequently recurring term *dulce France*, that is, "sweet France." Indeed it is a literary cliché, the phrase being used in a dozen cases simply as an ornamental epithet without any real significance. But it assumes another character and a note of true feeling when Roland exclaims at the moment when he sees the certain death before him: "Land of France, thou art a very sweet country"; or when another hero, the dying Olivier, calls down blessings upon sweet France and his king.¹² In such words we see the beginnings of a real love of the home country.

Even the conventional formula, "sweet France," may take on a new light when we see it passing into the familiar speech of the French of that time and when we note in what sense it is used. In 1170, a French clergyman, Pierre de Blois, wrote a letter to a fellow countryman, an abbot who, following his advice, had decided to give up his directorship of a monastery in Sicily and return to a more modest position in his old country. In this letter Pierre wrote: "*Sumus, frater, in dulci Francia. . . . Bonum est nos hic esse.*" To which with scorn he added: "Let those live in Sicily who care for the office of traitorous and poisonous flattering or like to fill with poisonous sweetness the ears of magnates lusting for idle glory. To me it suffices to live and die where I was born and nourished."¹³

In those words we have the true and natural love of the home country, a real feeling for "sweet France." And Pierre even tells us why France must be called sweet above all other countries. He quotes a sentence he has found in an old work of St. Jerome, written about the year 400, where the author says: *Sola Gallia monstra non habuit*.¹⁴ St. Jerome made this statement in a book directed against heretics, and his aim was to praise Gaul as a country free of such misshapen beings of which there were too many in the world. Pierre put a new meaning into it. He pictured Sicily as a *regio infernalis quae devorat habitatores suos*, thus recalling the memory of the terrible eruption of Etna in 1169 that had frightened all Europe; and he contrasted his own country with such a land where nature was still unconquered by man. Obviously, France was to him the home of true civilization, the country, he says, of mild air and soft wines, in brief the country where it was good or "sweet" to live.

¹² *Ibid.*, II. 1861, 2017.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 339.

¹³ Migne, *Patrologia latina*, CCVII, 293.

Most likely the medieval authors, whether they wrote in French or in Latin, took over the expression from one of their most admired classical models, certainly the most emotional of them, the poet Ovid, who once uses the phrase *patriae dulce solum*.¹⁵ The word from the classics certainly helped them to make clear to themselves what their feelings were.

From both the classics and his own home country Pierre de Blois also learned to realize the love of one's home country in general. For several years he lived in England, and from there he sent, about 1175, a letter to an Englishman who had gone to Syracuse as an archbishop. "I wish, father," he wrote, "that you would come back from that mountainous and monstrous country to the sweet native air. To that you ought to be driven by the security of life, the love of the fatherland, the law of nature, the conditions of nourishment, and above all, by the love for the King of England who embraces you with sincere friendship."¹⁶

Here we find united some of the primary elements of national sentiment, innate love of one's home country with all the habits connected therewith, and loyalty to the sovereign who embodies in him the idea of the nation.

The admission offered by Pierre de Blois of the right of others to feel for their country what he felt for his certainly at his time was a unique concept. The great national statesman of France, Abbot Suger, in his biography of Louis VI, declared that it was neither rightful nor natural that the French should be subjected to the English, but added coolly that rather should the English be subjected to the French.¹⁷ On another occasion he expresses himself contemptuously about the Germans, whom he characterizes by applying to them the classical catchword *furor teutonicus*; he tells how delegates of the German emperor behaved "snorting with German aggressiveness" (*teutonico impetu frendentes*).¹⁸

The repeated battles that the French had to fight for the undisputed control of their national territory by their king animated their nationalism to increasingly hostile feelings toward their neighbors. Their decisive victory at Bouvines in 1214 over the united English and German forces loosened exultations still more widespread and resounding than had the triumphs of 1124. The boyish contempt of the enemy, characteristic of a juvenile national sentiment, is expressed by the exclamation of a French knight when warned, in 1200, against the Germans: "The Germans! Even if armed they would not dare to attack an unarmed Frenchman!"¹⁹

¹⁵ Ovidius Naso, *Tristia*, lib. III, cl. 8, l. 7.

¹⁶ *Patrologia latina*, CCVII, 137.

¹⁷ *Oeuvres complètes*, p. 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁹ A. Luchaire, *Innocent III* (Paris, 1905), I, 175.

III

Across the Channel, in England, the conditions of national development were in many ways unlike those of France, particularly in so far as the country, since the Norman Conquest, was never threatened by invaders from abroad and nationalism could not be stimulated by the opposition to foreign enemies. The problem of reconciliation between Anglo-Saxons and Normans apparently was not so difficult as generally assumed in the period of national romanticism,²⁰ and the unification of government and law as achieved by the Norman kings tended to foster a civic solidarity which easily might grow into common national consciousness. In the crusade of 1147, Normans and English formed a single group, separate from, although allied with, Flemings, Scots, and forces from Cologne. When, on one occasion, the Norman and English crusaders were on the verge of disagreeing and splitting, one of their Norman leaders remonstrated with them as seeming to be infected by something abnormal; for he said, "we are all sons of one mother."²¹ A little later, one of the highest officers of the kingdom, the royal treasurer, Richard Fitz-Neal, felt that he could say that frequent intermarriages had to such a degree brought about a mingling of the two nations that, in the class of free men, it could scarcely be ascertained who was English and who Norman.²² The Anglo-Norman chroniclers of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries uniformly gave the whole population of England the common name of *gens Anglorum* without differentiating between conquerors and conquered. Nationalism in England was, however, at that time essentially a latent force; it did not provoke passionate outbursts of enthusiasm or hatred.

Different was the situation of the British race that was fought and finally conquered by the English and their Norman kings. In their defense against the aggressors, the Welshmen were roused to a nationalism that not only helped maintain their own self-consciousness but even gave an impulse to similar movements in other countries. Toward the middle of the twelfth century, the Welshman Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his history of the Briton kings which became the most famous work of nationalistic historiography in the Middle Ages.

This work has justly been called a *sorte d'épopée nationale*.²³ It was a passionate vindication of the British, or Welsh, nationality directed against

²⁰ Cf. Edward A. Freeman, "The Fusion of Norman and English," in his *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, V (Oxford, 1876), 825-39.

²¹ "Cum nos omnes unius matris filii simus." *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. by Charles Wendell David (New York, 1936), pp. 106-107.

²² Richard, Son of Nigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. by Arthur Hughes, C. G. Crump, and C. Johnson (Oxford, 1902), pp. 99-100.

²³ Edmond Faral, *La légende Arthurienne* (Paris, 1929), II, 394.

their Anglo-Norman oppressors. Geoffrey, the ecclesiastical author, makes plain his furious hatred of the enemies of his people, the accused Saxons, and never tires of depicting their treacherous character.²⁴ They were, needless to say, able to defeat the brave Britons only by treachery or witchcraft.²⁵ Unfortunately, however, they were helped by the internal discords of the Britons, and, according to Geoffrey, it was the divine punishment of such sins that made the Britons lose so much of their ancient power.²⁶ But he consoled his people with the prophecies of Merlin which promised that they should again become the masters of all Britain.²⁷ His tales of their former bravery were a constant exhortation *pro patria pugnare* and free it again.²⁸

Geoffrey of Monmouth aimed particularly at showing the Norman rulers of his country that the Britons as a race measured up very well with the Anglo-Saxons and had a most glorious past. For this purpose he created for them a more brilliant history than any other people could boast of. Their great hero, King Arthur, he said, had made Britain the "lady of thirty realms";²⁹ he was pictured as having subdued Scotland, Ireland, Gothland, the Orkneys, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, and all Gaul, and even to have defeated the Romans and all their vassal nations. Of course, Geoffrey accepted the theory that the Britons descended from Brutus and thus could trace their origins to the Trojans as well as to Romans. Both this latter idea and most of the royal Briton genealogy he took from Nennius, a compiler of the ninth century, and it was in no wise original when he ascribed to the new nations of the Middle Ages an origin that went back to the great nations of antiquity. Learned and ambitious authors had early been able to show that the Franks went back to the Trojans, and the Scots to Egypt, while the first historian of the dukes of Normandy, Dudo of Saint-Quentin, had identified the Danish conquerors of the duchy with the Greek Danaids and the Roman Dacians. Evidently, the Britons had to be the equals of such noble races. But Geoffrey was not satisfied with the simple assertion of such origin. With vivid imagination he put together from very trifling material a heroic history that became immensely popular and more widely known than any other national history of the age. It was, for instance, translated into Old Norse, and it became the source of popular legends in France and other countries. We may observe the influence of Geoffrey's work in the national historians of Poland, Denmark, and Norway.

The contemporary English historians were not so willing to accept the

²⁴ *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, ed. by J. A. Giles (London, 1844), VIII, 1, 2, 12, 24; XI, 8; XII, 12, 15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 14; VIII, 14.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XI, 9; XII, 5, 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XII, 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 14; VIII, 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, X, 1.

methods and the results of Geoffrey. At least one of them, William of Newburgh, writing in the 1190's, called Geoffrey an impudent liar who augmented old British sham stories with his own fabrications.³⁰ William was in doubt whether Geoffrey wrote all such fables only because of a pure pleasure in lying, or in order to flatter the prejudices of the Britons. William took his revenge in deriving the name of the race from Latin *brutus*, brute or stupid.

Otherwise, the English historians did not try to rival Geoffrey's fanciful production. This confirms the general observation of Godefroid Kurth that defeats are more fruitful in national legends than are victories. (I recall the fact that the legend of Roland centered around his defeat at Roncevaux.) The victorious Englishmen were not led to create likenesses of the Briton's tales of limitless bravery. Their ascendancy was secured by their virtual superiority, and we cannot find any evidence that their wars with the Welsh stimulated in them any particular national pride or feeling.

IV

Doubtless, the first national historian of Poland, Magister Vincentius, bishop of Cracow, had received many impulses from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Vincentius was a spokesman of the young national consciousness of the Poles, evoked by the everlasting danger of German domination. The twelfth century saw both defeats and victories, and the national existence was further endangered by internal strife. During the last quarter of the century, King Casimir the Just was struggling hard both for the consolidation and for the independence of the kingdom, and at his request Magister Vincentius, recently returned from studies in Paris, undertook to write the history of his reign.³¹

On his own initiative, Vincent enlarged his task. He wanted to base the efforts of the present on the achievements of the past, and he reached back into the legendary history of Poland which he reconstructed with an imagination inspired by the Welsh example.³² He did not hesitate to assert that the kingdom of Poland was established by the Greeks (proof: the capital, Cracow, was evidently founded by Cracus or Graccus, a Greek)³³ and he made the ancestors of his nation fight with Alexander the Great and defeat his successors. From such legendary feats onward Vincent followed with correspond-

³⁰ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. by Richard Howlett, I (London, 1884), 11-13.

³¹ *Chronica Polonorum*, ed. by August Bielowski, in *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, II (Lwów, 1872), 193-453.

³² Cf. Jacob Hammer, in *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences*, II (New York, 1944), 538-64.

³³ *Mon. Pol. hist.*, II, 257.

ing pride the history of the valiant rulers of the national royal family. He dwelt upon their undaunted bravery, their justice, and their love of the fatherland.

It was his highest boast that the first Polish king, Boleslav the Great, had "conquered the previously unconquered Saxons" and made Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, Russia, Moravia, and Bohemia tributary.³⁴ He quoted the second Boleslav as having said: "The Poles do not rejoice in being in the possession of gold, but in dominating the possessors of gold."³⁵ He praises the third Boleslav, the father of Casimir the Just, because he preferred to fall rather than yield and fought with few men against superior forces; he was *omnium invictissimus*.³⁶ Rebellions against the legitimate kings and fratricidal wars of rival parties were for Vincent a source of the most profound grief. The defense and the maintenance of the common Polish *patria* was the chief concern of the bishop as well as of his admired king.

The glory of battles and arms, the memory of ancestral heroism, such were the sources of Polish nationalism as mirrored in the work of Vincent. Besides, he preached faithful loyalty to the king. He concluded his book with a paraphrase on the theme: *Sola enim fides est, quae firmat et conservat imperia*.³⁷ Faith, he said, was the virtue of the kings, the fundament and diadem of kingship; without faith, society could not exist, man could not be just. It was the moral of the *Chanson de Roland*, translated into philosophical language. It struck his contemporaries with admiration. His book became the most popular and most widely read Polish history. It was commented upon and widely copied, and even read in the schools. The earliest Polish nationalism here found its ideals embodied.

V

German aggression was also an element in the shaping of Danish nationalism. Like Poland, Denmark had to resolve a double problem of national existence, on the one hand to make an end of the rivalry of different heirs to the royal throne, on the other to assert the independence of the kingdom, particularly endangered by the demands for supremacy by the German emperor. The great champion of national policies in both regards was Archbishop Absalon, the Suger of Denmark and, like him, the chief counselor of two successive kings, Valdemar the Great and his son Canute, whose reign filled the second half of the twelfth century. Absalon was not himself a historian like Suger; instead he asked no less than two men to write the history of his own times and of the past.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 279.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 293.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 313 ff., 358.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 445.

One of these historians was Sven Aggeson, the nephew of Absalon's predecessor in the see of the archbishopric. The other was one of the clerics of Absalon, Saxo with the surname Grammaticus, *i.e.* the scholar. Saxo says that "as other nations usually are proud of their ancient glory and anxious to maintain the memory of their ancestors, the most excellent Danish bishop Absalon could not bear that such a monument of honor should be wanting to our fatherland which he was always ardent to see in splendor."³⁸ On his own account Saxo declared himself the spiritual soldier of his king, fulfilling his service by writing his book. Likewise Sven proclaims: "When, during my strenuous researches in the monuments of antiquity, I often had to notice how elegantly and excellently the feats of the ancients were described, I could not but sigh to think that the achievements of our kings and heroes should be abandoned to eternal oblivion."³⁹

While Sven, however, was satisfied to write a short compendium, certainly filled with pride of all activities for national greatness, Saxo composed an elaborate work which procured for Denmark a legendary history going far back of the establishment of the Danish kingdom. He, too, followed the impulses from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and in a way he was even more nationalistic than the patriotic Welshman. He explicitly rejected the Danaic origin of the Danes such as propounded by the Norman historian Dudo;⁴⁰ all the legendary heroes of his work were native Danes, and his tales about them were borrowed from domestic traditions or from the master historians of the North, the Icelanders. By a construction of his own he embodied them in Danish national history.

His love and enthusiasm for his Danish *patria* and for everything Danish were the moving forces of his work; that is evidenced by almost every page of the book. He praises his nation for all manly virtues—bravery and magnanimity, loyalty to the king, and devotion to duty. In particular, he contrasts Danish honesty and steadfastness to Saxon faithlessness and levity, the curse of the relations with the Germans.⁴¹ He disapproves of an unworthy king who held Danish customs in contempt and imitated Saxon ways.⁴² Obviously he despised the German character and civilization, and held traits he considered peculiar to the Danes above everything else.

There is not in Saxo such an independence of mind as to make us feel him an originator of Danish nationalism. In the first place he is the mouth-piece of his master, Archbishop Absalon. In the second place he appears as

³⁸ *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, ed. by J. Olrik and H. Raeder, I (Copenhagen, 1931), 3, 5.

³⁹ *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi*, ed. by C. M. Gertz, I (Copenhagen, 1917-18), 65.

⁴⁰ *Gesta Danorum*, I, 10.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 359, 458, 502.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 387-88.

the spontaneous spokesman of leading ideas within the aristocracy and the clergy of Denmark, the classes that dominated the public opinion of the nation.

VI

Denmark was itself an expansive power; her kings were ambitious to rule the whole Scandinavian North, occasionally even England, and at various times they succeeded in conquering the whole or part of Norway. For some years of the eleventh century the tables were turned, and Norwegian kings ruled in Denmark. There are no signs that the wars between Denmark and Norway stimulated nationalistic feelings on the Danish side. In Norway, however, they vigorously affected the national mind, and the sagas of the Norwegian kings offer evidence of a brisk boastfulness at the expense of the neighbor nations, particularly of the Danes.

Most significant is a story told about speeches put into the mouth of the hero king Olaf Trygvason in the battle in which he lost his life, in the year 1000. The highly romantic saga of this king is another instance of the observation that defeats are apt to excite the imagination of people for the creation of national legends. And what is quoted after him from his last battle presents in a nutshell early medieval nationalism in typical form. The great saga of Snorri Sturluson tells it in this way:

When King Olaf was confronted with the superior navy of his enemies, he called his few ships together and prepared for battle. He stood on the quarterdeck of the *Serpent* high above all others. And when he saw that the enemy ships divided themselves and the standards were set up for the leaders, he asked: "Who is the chief of the fleet which is in front of us?" He was told that it was King Swein Forkbeard with his Danish host. The king answered: "We are not afraid of those cowards; there is no courage in the Danes. But what chief follows those standards which are on the right hand?" He was told it was the Swedish king with his host. King Olaf said: "It were better for the Swedes to stay at home and lick their feasting bowls than attack the *Serpent* against your weapons. But whose are the great ships which lie out there at the port side of the Danes?" "There is," they said, "Earl Eirik Hákonson." Then answered King Olaf: "He may well think he has reasons for meeting us, and from that troop we can expect a sharp onslaught; they are Norsemen like ourselves."⁴³

So the speeches are reported in Snorri's *Heimskringla*, composed about 1230, and if the tale came from him alone, we might easily suspect them of

⁴³ Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1893), I, 435.

having been invented by the author for the adornment of his story, like the embellishments of other authors who made use of the same device for introducing the parties in the most interesting way. But, as we happen to know the sources used by Snorri, we are able to state that he, in this case, has worked on a tradition much rougher than the polished and dramatized style which he has given it. Indeed, in the oldest report preserved, an Icelandic work written shortly before 1200, we find the Danes ridiculed as "goats," having "goats' courage," and the Swedes characterized as "horse-eaters," which was a scornful term for pagans.⁴⁴

We are, then, free to conclude that the national pride, expressed by the speeches quoted, may be traced back to the twelfth, or perhaps even to the eleventh century, when the first legends of the gallant king began to crystallize. The earlier date is given some support by a boasting note in certain verses of the court poets of King Harold Hardrada, who praised Norwegian bravery in contrast to the conduct of the Danes who fled from him in his battles in Denmark about the middle of the eleventh century. At any event, this feeling of superiority in the warlike virtues, as compared with the Danes, was firmly fixed in Norwegian minds at the end of the twelfth century.

Again Snorri Sturluson comes to attest this form of national feeling. Though he himself was an Iclander, his adaptable genius, his broad conception of the psychology of nations as well as of individuals, made him able to give his readers a lifelike picture of the Norwegian mind of his time. His whole work breathes the strong spirit of national pride whenever he tells us of the relations between Norway and Denmark. In battle, the Danes are always likely to flee.

In the very last part of Snorri's work he makes the Danish king Valdemar the Great, about 1170, address a characteristic speech to Norwegian delegates after Valdemar had attempted to subdue Norway. According to Snorri he said that none of his chiefs would care to go and settle in Norway because there they would have to do "with a hard and unruly people."⁴⁵ On an earlier occasion, Snorri puts almost the same words in the mouth of a Swedish king when asked for military assistance to conquer Norway. "The Swedes," he said, "do not much like to go to Norway to make war, for we know that the Norsemen are hard people, great warriors, and difficult to attack."⁴⁶

What the Norwegians were stoutly priding themselves upon was that they were indomitable fighters, particularly so in relation to their neighbors. Such was the earliest expression of their national self-consciousness.

⁴⁴ Oddr muncr, *Saga Olafs konungs Tryggvasonar*, Det Arnsmagnæanske Haandskrift 310 quarto, ed. by P. Groth (Christiania, 1895), pp. 102, 103, 105.

⁴⁵ *Heimskringla*, III, 475.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 444.

Snorri added another reason for national pride in his telling of a long saga about the presumed ancestors of the royal family. Like Geoffrey of Monmouth he was able to base his story on a much earlier document, in this case a poem from about 900 that offered a genealogy of kings comprising no less than thirty generations, virtually a whole millennium. Thus, like Saxo, he could happily establish his legendary saga on a national, or at any rate a Scandinavian ground. But he could not resist the temptation to connect it with classical reminiscences. Starting with the idea that the Norwegian royal race, like that of other nations, had a divine origin, he ventured an etymology which, to his contemporaries, must have seemed even more striking than the derivation of Britain from Brutus, and which led to the desired result. He interpreted the Norse word for gods, *áss*, as meaning men from Asia, and lo! the kings of Norway were just as exalted as the Trojans who had founded Rome or France or Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth had pointed the way to national emulation of heroic ancestors, and the nationalistic spirit of many countries seized the idea eagerly.

VII

German aggressiveness proved an effective element in provoking nationalistic feelings in the neighbor kingdoms to the west, the east, and the north. In Germany itself, at that early date, the national consciousness was very weak. Still for a long time, most of the Germans, if they had a consciousness of a larger citizenship, felt more like Bavarians, Swabians, Saxons, etc., than like Germans. German political unity was represented by the emperor, but his power was considerably restricted by local authorities and laws. Yet, about the year 1200, we hear a note of German nationalism, expressed by a poet who sang at the imperial court, no less a man than the famous Walther von der Vogelweide. He wrote a whole poem to the praise of the German nation.⁴⁷

"I have seen many countries," he declared, "and I liked to observe the best of them." But his conclusion was: "German civilization is above all of them. From the Elbe to the Rhine and from there to the frontier of Hungary certainly the best people live whom I have been acquainted with in all the world." As becomes a poet, Walther is particularly charmed with the women, and, as to behavior and beauty, he thinks the German women better than all others, actually like angels. But he is proud of his own sex as well: "The German men are well educated." The relations of man and woman are to him the

⁴⁷ *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, ed. by Carl v. Kraus (10th ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), pp. 80-81.

climax of life: "Whoever wants to see virtue and pure love, he must come into our country; there is much pleasure. I would fain live there for long years."

During the thirteenth century, German nationalism began to grope for more positive realization. Still, however, many centuries would have to pass before a truly national consciousness appeared in Germany as a powerful factor in political development.

VIII

As we have seen, the neighbor nations, the French and the Danes, thought themselves far superior to the Germans in both civilization and morals. So did the Italians.

During the last decade of the twelfth century the Italians, particularly those of Sicily, rose in arms against the German invaders. In Sicily there was a country-wide conspiracy to murder all Germans. The contemporary English historian William of Newburgh was pleased to relate how Sicilians and Apulians cursed the German rule.⁴⁸ The Germans were regarded as barbarians, hated for their arrogance, their obstinacy and self-assertiveness, and because they were crude, coarse, and uncivilized.⁴⁹ Their language appeared like the "barking of dogs and the croaking of frogs." Even a contemporary Italian author, Peter of Eboli, who belonged to the following of the German emperor and who wrote a versified report of the Sicilian revolt, bears witness that his fellow countrymen were repelled by the prospect of having to learn the barbarous German language.⁵⁰ To be sure, he likewise disdained the French language which seemed to him to be spoken "with a broad mouth."⁵¹ But popular feeling was against the Germans. At a given moment the Sicilian widow of the emperor, Empress Constanca, who surely knew from personal experience the manners and the mentality of the Germans, made herself the leader of a movement to throw them out of Italy. The pope, Innocent III, incited all the people of the peninsula against them, picturing them as slaughterers of men and violators of women.⁵² He made the hatred of the Germans a Pan-Italian movement. Even the Italian author quoted feels compelled to put the feeling of his nation into the question: *Teutonicam rabiem quis tolerare potest?*⁵³

⁴⁸ William of Newburgh, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁴⁹ F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907), p. 419; E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, (3. Aufl., Berlin, 1931), p. 18, with references in *Ergänzungsband*, p. 13.

⁵⁰ *Raccolta di tutti scrittori dell'istoria del regno di Napoli*, XVI (Naples, 1770), 14, ll. 122-23.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 64, ll. 669-70.

⁵² *Patrologia latina*, CCXIV, 513.

⁵³ *Raccolta*, etc., XVI, 14, l. 121.

In fact, the fight against German domination became the first incentive of that movement for Italian national unity which we see coming to life in the beginning of the fourteenth century, represented by Sicily's King Robert the Wise, by Dante, Cola di Rienzo, and others.

IX

There is a striking fundamental uniformity in these varied and simultaneous declarations of national feeling from so many different countries of western Europe, and it must be acknowledged that here are the beginnings of actual nationalism. The common elements of it are evident. Everywhere we observe a juvenile pride in one's own nation as contrasted with others, and the pride is mostly concentrated upon the warlike virtues of the nation, in several cases also upon the superiority of their own civilizations. Thus, this early nationalism includes a hatred or a contempt of other nations. Furthermore, the nation is centered in its king, who is the chief of the nation in battle and the visible symbol signifying political unity. The kingdom is the country of everybody, loyalty to the king becomes a national duty and a proof of virtue, and devotion to country (*amor patriae*) becomes not simply patriotism but a real affection for the native land.

The significant fact is that all these feelings affect the nation as a whole. For while we know of these nationalistic tendencies chiefly through literature, where they are primarily expressions of the authors' personal sentiments or ideas, we do find in some cases, for example, in the *Chanson de Roland* and in Snorri's *Heimskringla*, that popular traditions were growing up and carrying with them the characteristically national sentiments described above.

From the beginning of the twelfth century, European nationalism has a continuous history. From the simplicity of earlier times it grew to manifold complexity. New national institutions, such as a national parliament and the church, placed themselves at the side of the king and attracted the devotion of the people. Civic interests multiplied and united the citizens for peaceful activities. Historic traditions conveyed to the people new national symbols, heroes of independence, saints, laws. Trade and commerce fostered a powerful economic nationalism. Language and poetry created the basis of intellectual unity.

With these developments, the original elements of nationalism grew relatively less important, and their power weakened accordingly. Kings might disappear, wars and military feats lose much of their glory, as the idea of national solidarity replaced boastful pride.

Yet, the products of the first nationalistic movement played an important

part in the shaping of modern nations. Even directly they were used by later generations for the advancement of national ideas. The Renaissance of the sixteenth century, with its emphasis on classicism, revived as well the national literature of the Middle Ages. The *Chanson de Roland* and the legend of King Arthur, Saxo Grammaticus and Snorri Sturluson, all of them were put to the service of the new nationalism. The continued life of such early works forms a chapter of its own in the history of national growth.

* * * Notes and Suggestions * * *

An Eighteenth Century Beveridge Planner

OSCAR SHERWIN*

ONE hundred and forty years ago Patrick Colquhoun, a clearheaded Glasgow merchant and London magistrate, examined the causes of and proposed remedies for the social ills of his day. The ideas set forth in his *Treatise on Indigence*¹ have long since been translated into modern language and woven into the pattern of our social thinking.

It is *indigence* and not *poverty* which constitutes the chief burthen to which civil society is exposed. It is that condition in society which implies *want*, *misery*, and *distress*. It is the state of anyone who is destitute of the means of subsistence and is unable to procure it by labor to the extent nature requires. The natural source of subsistence is the labor of the individual. While that remains with him he is denominated *poor*; when it fails in whole or in part, he becomes *indigent*. . . . But it may happen and does indeed frequently happen in civil life that a man may have ability to labor and cannot obtain it. He may have labor in his possession without being able to dispose of it.

The great desideratum, therefore, is to prop up *poverty* by judicious arrangements at those critical periods when it is in danger of descending into indigence. The barrier between these two conditions in society is often slender, and the public interest requires that it should be narrowly guarded, since every individual who retrogrades into indigence becomes a loss to the body politic not only in the diminution of a certain portion of productive labor, but also in an additional pressure on the community by the necessary support of the individual and his family who have thus descended into *indigence*.²

Colquhoun terms indigence "one of the greatest calamities which can afflict civil society," since it generates everything that is noxious, criminal, and vicious. In order to provide remedies, two questions remain to be answered: how to reduce the number of indigent? what measures to adopt to prevent the poor from descending into this injurious state? "None according to the common law and the law of humanity *must starve outright or gradually*."³

*The author is professor of English in the College of the City of New York.

¹ *A Treatise on Indigence Exhibiting a General View of the National Resources for Productive Labour with Propositions for Ameliorating the Condition of the Poor and Improving the Moral Habits and Increasing the Comforts of the Labouring People* (London, 1806).

² "Preliminary Elucidations," *ibid.*, pp. 7, 8, 9; *A Treatise on the Wealth, Power and Resources of the British Empire* (2d ed., London, 1815), pp. 110-11.

³ *A Treatise on Indigence*, p. 18.

Yet it is evident beyond all doubt that many must starve if no provision be made against the casualties incident to a state of civilization.

Colquhoun proceeds with his examination. Indigence arises from causes innocent or culpable. Innocent causes of indigence are either irremediable, such as insanity, blindness, old age, infirmity, and destitute orphanage, or remediable (requiring props to raise it to its former state of independent poverty), such as temporary loss of work, inability to obtain work, sudden discharge of laborers by failure of employers or stagnation of trade, discharge of soldiers, marines, seamen, and members of the militia, discharge of laborers from public works when completed, temporary sickness, loss by fire, or other casualties. Culpable causes of indigence include carelessness, prodigality, dissipation, drunkenness, and other vicious and immoral habits.⁴

Parliamentary abstracts in 1803 listed 1,040,716 paupers, of whom 651,349 were relieved out of workhouses, 83,468 paupers relieved in workhouses, 305,899 paupers, chiefly beggars, occasionally relieved. To this figure Colquhoun added 230,000, including traveling mendicants, gypsies, idle and immoral persons, prostitutes, vagabonds, lottery vagrants, and criminal offenders living chiefly or wholly upon the labor of others.⁵ The relief expended reached a total of £4,267,965; private and public charity raised the sum to £8,000,000.⁶

Yet to what extent was indigence ameliorated? True the indigent were clothed and fed, but few, very few, recovered their former useful station of independent poverty. The calamity thus arose not from deficient pecuniary aid, but from want of a system of management calculated to render aid effective.

No responsible agency or department had been established to look to the education of the poor or to the progress of morals, to investigate accurately various causes of indigence or the nature and extent of moral and criminal offenses. There were commissioners to audit public accounts, but the most important, most laborious and intricate branch of statistical inquiry was assigned to no responsible subordinate agency which could form an accurate opinion of proper measures to be pursued with a view to improving society in general.

The machinery of the poor laws was too complicated, the duties often assigned to men who were unwilling laborers, too much occupied in the paramount duty of supporting their own families, and assessments were unequal. The management and mode of giving relief often varied as much as parishes were different from one another. Parish officers were guided by

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

no fixed principle. The general economy was often irregular, ill-digested, and not seldom the effect of momentary impulse. Established regulations were changed frequently. The system was like a ship at sea without a rudder.

Colquhoun urged that the poor laws be put under the superintendence of a board composed of the most able men in the country responsible to his majesty's principal secretary of state for the Home Department. The functions of the board were to embrace all objects in any degree connected with the casualties of life or a retrograde state of morals producing indigence, vagrancy, or criminal offenses. The board was to get facts from resident ministers, parochial officers, and high constables. Among other things a table was to be drawn showing resources for employment in each parish, the cause of scarcity if such existed, the number of apprentices and unemployed, the earnings of laborers, the names of the indigent, the expense of maintaining them and the causes of indigence, also the food consumed by the poor, the common diet and beverage, rent earnings, the number of schools for educating the poor and the number of children educated, and the general state of morals in each parish.

These reports were to be systematized and digested once a year and submitted to the secretary of state with suggestions for improvement of the pauper system and relief of the indigent, for support of the industrious poor, and for amelioration of the conditions of the laboring people in England. The central board was also to get the names of persons licensed to sell ale, beer, and other liquors, to establish rules and orders for the proper conduct of such houses, and to call for a return from secondhand dealers, pawnbrokers, hackney coaches, hawkers, peddlers in order to prevent criminal offenses. Magistrates were to make a periodical return to the board of the state of all jails and houses of correction and a list was to be kept by the board of all idle, suspicious, and criminal persons.

A "Police Gazette" was to be published in plain and familiar language giving the poor a short extract of the existing act of Parliament divested of technical phraseology, with short commentaries on the penalty of infringement and the advantages of strict obedience. Religious and moral duties (the duties of a good wife, the duties of a good husband, the government of passions), the art of frugal cookery with occasional receipts, police and criminal statistics, were also to be presented. Seventy-five thousand copies were to be distributed weekly. The object of the commissioners was to acquire a stock of knowledge and accurate and minute information which might ultimately lead to improvement. This was to be done before any reform was attempted.

The great object is first to establish a foundation, a rallying point, a centre of action, a fixed responsible agency, a resource of talents, knowledge, application, and industry equal to the difficult task of improving the condition of society where a gangrene exists or is threatened—by diminishing the number of innocent indigent by judicious and timely props, by restoring the culpable indigent to at least a useful condition in society.

To prevent the virtuous poor from sinking into indigence, producing unmerited misery and distress, Colquhoun adds, would be “a godlike work.”⁷

On the road to that endeavor Colquhoun suggested a national deposit bank for parochial societies in the metropolis under the immediate sanction and guarantee of the government with branches in the country conveniently located, each to be managed by a president and five directors.

The great desideratum in political economy is to lead the poor by gentle and practicable means *into the way of helping themselves*. Establish a system that shall not only convince them that they have a stake in the country as well as the rich, but that the government and the legislature will place that stake on so secure and respectable a footing that they may look up to it with certainty as a relief in time of sickness and a prop to old age; and success will be the result.⁸

Payments into the bank were to be made monthly according to classes, leaving it to every member to choose his own class, whether one shilling monthly or ten shillings, entitling individuals composing such societies to contingent benefits arising from their respective deposits according to tables accurately calculated. A general meeting of parishioners in the church was to choose a committee of managers who must examine each member of the deposit bank separately, specifying his name, age, state of health, place of birth, residence, occupation, and marital state. The system of relief was to be run efficiently, justly, punctually, quickly. Directors were to be appointed by the king and to receive donations from the rich with a view to increasing relief to be granted. All funds of the bank were to be invested in national securities, guaranteed by the government. All profits were to belong to the societies. Every male and female between the ages of twenty and sixty was eligible as a member, soldiers and sailors as well. At the start Colquhoun estimated a membership total of two million, with increases certain later. “The poor man will thus have his bank as well as the rich.”⁹

The old Friendly Societies (9,672 in number) were to be scrapped. Their funds were limited, their stock was often annihilated before they were aware of it, and they failed to embrace the wide range of relief of which the national deposit bank was susceptible. Colquhoun wanted instead 3,500,000 eligible adults to be admitted to benefits resulting from a yearly deposit of

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. III.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122–33, 135.

a small sum of money out of their earnings to receive in return a corresponding aid under the following contingencies: (1) weekly allowance for sickness and accident; (2) small allowance on birth of a child to defray lying-in expenses; (3) death allowance; (4) allowance to compensate any loss or casualty by fire, the loss of a cow, a horse, or any useful animal upon which the support of a family partly depended; (5) small annuity to widow or sum of money to enable her to carry on some business; (6) moderate sum for apprenticing child; (7) small annuity to persons infirm or past labor from old age.¹⁰

The plan embraced "all ages and all conditions among the laboring classes." It was perfectly voluntary, no direct or indirect coercion being proposed. "The whole of those who have entitled themselves to these benefits will look up to the government and the Bank as guardian angels by whose wise regulations and regard to their welfare, they are shielded from the dread of misery and want under the calamity of sickness, bodily infirmity, and old age."¹¹

But all schemes would be nugatory and ineffectual unless they comprehended the rising generation. Colquhoun urged national education for children of the poor—unfortunately not a species of instruction which was to elevate them above the rank they were destined to hold in society, but merely a sufficient portion to give their minds a right bias. A strong sense of religion and moral honesty, a horror of vice and love of virtue, sobriety, and industry, a disposition to be satisfied with their lot were to be imbued in the children. Here Colquhoun fits into the frigid conventional mold of his age—"To exceed that point would be utopian, impolitic, and dangerous, since it would confound the ranks of society."¹² But Colquhoun's scope as thinker and statistician does not long remain congealed. The idea—universal education—was long-sighted and just; the matter of instruction myopic. Although 194,914 children, five to fourteen years of age, were permanently relieved in England and Wales from the parochial rates in 1803, of this number only 21,600 in schools of industry were receiving an imperfect education. And yet there were over two million children of the poor in England and Wales. The problem was too gigantic for the efforts of private benevolence. Colquhoun wanted a general system of education at an expense so moderate (less than ten shillings a year for one child, one shilling and ten pence a month for two children, etc.) as to be within the ability of every family to defray. Public institutions only could accomplish results.

A central board of education was to be created, composed of bishops and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-38.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

prominent laymen, and schools established in every parish or district of England and Wales. Local managers appointed by the central board were to run the schools entirely.

The nation was a large family—it required much productive labor to support it. Apprentice laws were obsolete, the existing statutes a mere patchwork full of bewildering incongruities, a source of litigation, and a waste of time. A circle was described full of curves and windings where a straight line would effect the object. Modernize the statutes (forty in number), demanded Colquhoun, establish a superintending or central employment agency so that every youth after being accurately registered, could find his job. Applications for laborers were to be made to this central point. In March and September of each year all children, male and female, of the poor, who had arrived at an age to be put out as apprentices, should be registered in the parish books and a copy transmitted to the board of education. A prescribed form was to be issued for every parish. Then handbills or advertisements were to be published every six months inviting manufacturers, agriculturists, artisans, and others to inspect the registers with a view to employment of these children. The board of education was to permit shortages or demands from one parish to be met by other parishes. Periodical returns were valuable too as a fund of information about the resources of the country. The utility of such a system would be obvious. It could be used as a basis of legislation where facts were needed.¹³

As the laws existed, there was no free circulation of labor because of the doctrine and practice of settlement and removal. If a poor man could not dispose of his labor in his own parish he was not at liberty to go to another where a demand existed, for relief was granted only in the parish in which he resided. While resident paupers in Cumberland, Cornwall, Lancaster, and Nottingham amounted only to one fifteenth part of the population, those in Sussex and Wiltshire were nearly one fourth, in Oxfordshire one fifth, in Essex and Suffolk above one sixth, in Derby, Middlesex, and Rutland less than one thirteenth.¹⁴

A legal warfare between parish and parish was thus created. The question was not how the poor were to be set to work but how the parish officers could best avail themselves of legal subtleties to get rid of intruders. The rage for technicalities, perplexities, chicaneries, refinements, legal abracadabra exceeded all calculation. The ruinous effect of the system tended to vitiate and corrupt the minds of laboring people. One chief justice remarked that “armies of counsel were frequently arrayed to contend about which of two

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 160–61, 163, 174–78.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 265–66.

parishes should be bound to provide a scanty subsistence to a miserable pauper, with as much zeal as if the title to the first estate in the kingdom were at stake and at an expense which would probably have supported fifty such paupers during their whole lives." The average expense of litigation, removals, maintenance, and other charges in 1783-1785 was £92,000; in 1803 it was £190,073; the expense for a century over six million pounds.¹⁵

If the foundation were rotten, the superstructure raised upon it could never be safe or useful. Let the fund be national, the practice parochial, urged Colquhoun. Then settlements, removals, appeals, certificates, and all the miserable train of endless litigation, of questions of no earthly importance to the nation or to the individuals would vanish. "The poor man's liberty will then cease to be abridged, labor will have its free scope. Are subjects on account of the calamity of indigence to be imprisoned within a particular parish? Their country should be their settlement and the legislature their guardians. . . . The poor man would then feel that he had a home to fight for (from which he could not be removed) and a country to defend."¹⁶ As for parish workhouses where the indigent were to be lodged, maintained, and employed, those on a small scale were abodes of misery which defied all comparison in human wretchedness. "They are nowhere alas! houses of real industry and reform. . . . *To innocent indigence they are gaols without guilt—punishment without crime*, while to culpable paupers they operate as a species of reward to vice and idleness."¹⁷

The vast increase in paupers nullified the system, for out of 1,040,716 paupers in 1803 only 83,469 could be accommodated in existing workhouses. The remaining 957,248 indigent required relief chiefly in money to the amount of £3,061,446 in one year, besides relief granted to 194,052 who were not parishioners.

Finally Colquhoun urged regulation of alehouses and pawnbroker shops. There were six thousand alehouses in London alone—schools of vice and thievery, he called them. Licenses should be limited to men of good moral character and denied to houses permitting irregularities. As for pawnbroker shops, Colquhoun recognized that if they were taken away, thousands would unavoidably perish in the streets. There were 240 licensed pawnbrokers in London and nearly 450 in country towns and villages charging exorbitant interest or premiums. He urged establishment of public institutions to lend sums of money to the poor.¹⁸

In summary, pertinent suggestions were: a general board to investigate

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-11.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 223.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-42.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-26, 235-39.

and superintend the problems of indigence; a national deposit bank with deposits and social benefits guaranteed by the government; a "Police Gazette" or journal of information; a central office of employment; a central list of all idle, suspicious, and criminal persons; a central board of education; revision of apprenticeship laws; and public loan banks for the poor.

To guide the working classes into channels calculated to enable them to render their labor productive, is the true essence of government. . . .

Science may embellish society; capital combined with skill may invigorate the sources of human industry, but without the labor of the hands nothing useful or profitable can be attained. . . . To contaminate therefore the sources of labor, to permit the poisonous admixture of debility and debasement to enter into it, to spurn it with contempt and disgust from our thresholds is in fact to destroy the first native seeds, the great and essential spring from whence all our comforts and all our affluence, power and prosperity arise.¹⁹

Who was Patrick Colquhoun?²⁰ Scion of an ancient and honorable family, he was born at Dumbarton in 1745 and received his early education there. Orphaned at sixteen, he was sent to the wilds of Virginia to seek his fortune. So well did he succeed that five years later he was able to return to Glasgow and begin business on his own account. He prospered greatly and in 1777 established the first crystal factory in Scotland. By that time he was taking a notable part in public affairs. In 1781 he originated a scheme for improving the Exchange of Glasgow. He made several visits to London to secure the passage of measures favorable to the cotton and muslin industry of Scotland. In consequence of his efforts he was elected lord provost of Glasgow. He founded the chamber of commerce, of which he was the first chairman. Then he visited Flanders and Brabant and made "the infant manufacture of muslins known throughout the continent." During this time he published a number of pamphlets in support of his personal efforts. He was called "Father of Glasgow."²¹

Appointed to represent the mercantile interests of Glasgow in London, he soon became identified rather with London than with Glasgow. In 1792 when the police system was partially reconstructed, he was appointed one of the new justices.

From that time on, pamphlets and books issued freely from his pen. His

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 277, 233-34.

²⁰ For biographical sources see *European Magazine and London Review*, LXXIII (March-June, 1818); *Annual Biography and Obituary*, V (London, 1821); George Eyre-Todd, *History of Glasgow*, III (Glasgow, 1934); *Dictionary of National Biography*. Joseph Irving, *History of Dumbartonshire* (Dumbarton, 1860), pp. 269-70 contains a list of Colquhoun's writings—twenty-eight pamphlets and books, not comprising his "ephemeral" publications.

²¹ James Cleland, *The City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1820), pp. 94-95.

clear and able mind embodied plans far ahead of his time. The core of his arguments was *preventive* police, as he considered it, a new branch of science in political philosophy.²² "By the term police we are to understand all those regulations in a country which apply to the comfort, convenience, and safety of the inhabitants whether it regards their security against the calamity of indigence or effects produced by moral and criminal offences."²³

In 1794 appeared anonymously his *Observations and Facts Relative to Public Houses* to check "the pernicious habit of living in ale-houses so prevalent at present among laboring people."²⁴ By a judicious system of licenses much crime and vice could be prevented. In 1795 when political discontent, influenced by the Revolution in France and the high price of food, became dangerous, Colquhoun took a lead in establishing a soup kitchen in Spitalfields, the first of its kind in England.

Presently he distinguished himself in a new field. It was a time of decrepit night watchmen and Bow Street runners. He made a thorough investigation of the system or want of system in use and produced *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (1795) which passed through six large editions. The work, mentioned in transatlantic publications as "one of the most valuable books to the legislature that ever was published,"²⁵ contributed substantially to the development of our modern police system. The total depredation against property, according to Colquhoun, amounted to no less than £2,100,000 yearly.²⁶ The criminal code, so sanguinary in its provisions that it listed 160 crimes punishable by death, including privately stealing or picking pockets above one shilling, was to be revised, consolidated, adjusted. And Colquhoun followed Beccaria in stating that the laws must be humane.²⁷ "The evils are not to be imputed so much to the increased or general depravity of the human character as to the deficiency of the laws in not advancing progressively in the means of prevention."²⁸

Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames (1800), written at the suggestion of the West Indian planters, brought about the establishment of an effective Thames police, and increased the public revenue in sugar alone £30,000 annually by the adoption of his plan.²⁹ Colquhoun's last work

²² *A Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames* (London, 1800), pp. 38, 156.

²³ *A Treatise on Indigence*, p. 82.

²⁴ *Observations and Facts Relative to Public Houses*, Advertisement.

²⁵ *European Magazine*, p. 307; William T. Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (London, 1868), 1, 502.

²⁶ *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (4th ed., London, 1797), pp. 42-44.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8, 283-86. Cf. *Annual Register*, LXI (1819), 354-55, which gives a summary of Colquhoun's examination before Parliament on the penal code and punishment of death.

²⁸ *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, pp. 439-40.

²⁹ *European Magazine*, p. 501.

of importance was *A Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire* (1814) containing significant remarks on future unemployed.

The extraordinary events which have taken place in the course of the last twenty-five years, unexampled in the history of the world, have given a new feature to the general structure of civil society, requiring new efforts and new measures applicable to the changes which have taken place.

When the convulsion of war terminated in peace, "it must then become a desideratum [Colquhoun's favorite word] of great importance to find productive employment for the increased and increasing population of these Kingdoms." An active and industrious population was the stay and support of every well-governed community. And the paramount duty of the community after the war was "to impart blessings, happiness and comfort, to the brave men who have fought the battles of their country."³⁰

Colquhoun estimated that 280,000 British officers, soldiers, and seamen would be thrown back upon the public. How to afford them profitable employment? Fisheries, improved agriculture, and public works would do much to accomplish the absorption. But, in addition, Colquhoun urged the government to make liberal grants of freehold property to veterans in the fertile regions of Upper Canada, the banks of the Bay of Fundy, the Cape of Good Hope, and the West Indies.

No country in the world ever possessed the means to so great an extent of placing the brave men who have fought her battles in situations advantageous to themselves and their country as the United Kingdom at this time. . . . The long war in which this country and the continent have been engaged may be said to have given a new character to the state of society in every part of Europe. There is no precedent in ancient or modern history of such a state of things. Experience, therefore, can afford but little aid.³¹

This idea of finding an outlet for an unemployed class created by the termination of war Colquhoun developed, with specific application to South Africa, in an anonymous pamphlet. These considerations were offered by the author "far advanced in life." Two years later he died.

³⁰ *A Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire* (2d ed., London, 1815), pp. ix-x.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-27.

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General History

PROPHETS AND PEOPLES: STUDIES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY NATIONALISM. By *Hans Kohn*, Sydenham Clark Parsons Professor of History in Smith College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1946. Pp. 213. \$2.50.)

THESE essays, which, as the author states, grew out of lectures he delivered at Northwestern University, now appear as a collection, with copious notes. Besides the introduction, there are studies of five prophets: Mill, Michelet, Mazzini, Treitschke, and Dostoevsky. In view of the subtitle I was a little surprised that John Stuart Mill was included in the group. The justification must lie in his essentially English outlook and in the fact that he believed in the principle of nationalist self-determination. But Mill seems much more a prophet of liberalism than one of nationalism, a thinker whose chief concern was the dignity of the individual. All the other figures were typical missionaries of nationalism, each one with a message to a people. The mystical quality which each of these displayed is another point of contrast with the rational and unromantic Mill.

The author's numerous works have shown him to be a scholar of great learning and perspicacity. On the basis of his study he often makes incisive and very sweeping statements, which inevitably challenge the historian, and some of which (I mention a few) may be questioned. "The British and American peoples, in their eighteenth century optimism and their trust in common sense, often miss the impact of history because they have short memories. Other nations miss the opportunities of life because they have too long memories and lose themselves in the tragic implications of 'destiny.'" Is there any people more reverent of their past than the English? Have there not been English missionaries of the nationalist faith? Are Americans noted for their "trust in common sense"? "Modern nationalism originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in northwestern Europe and its American settlements." True, nationalism was generally dormant in earlier days, but what about the sixteenth century Dutch in their uprising against Spain? "The English nation was born in the Puritan Revolution and confirmed in the Glorious Revolution." Here the writer stresses (and, I think, overstresses) the progress toward individual liberty. Much, no doubt, depends upon one's concept of nationhood. Just what are the ingredients in the making of a nation is doubtless a matter of opinion, but the process seems often to have been long and evolutionary. So it was, it seems to me, with England. Similarly I question whether the age of Peter the Great gave birth to the Russian nation. And is it not an overstatement to represent Britain's struggle with Revolutionary France as a "battle between Christianity and irreligion"? The author seems to approve of Lord

Acton's exaltation of the multinational state, but history has not as a rule demonstrated its practicability.

There are, on the other hand, a far greater number of excellent generalizations, as, for example: "Liberty and progress are not secure possessions. They are fragile and have to be cultivated." And "the despotism of custom is everywhere the standing hindrance to progress." The author's explanation of the deep roots of English liberty (p. 25) could hardly be better expressed in a few words.

It is more tempting in a review to cavil than to praise, but I have nothing but praise for the tabloid sketches of the five prophets and the ideals for which they stood. They reveal an intimate study and a combination of sympathy and objectivity. Moreover, other prophets, such as Quinet, Gervinus, and Pushkin, are incidentally introduced and enrich the story. Dr. Kohn believes that Treitschke paved the way for Bismarck, and it would be illuminating to know the extent of his influence before the wars of unification. It is interesting to find the bitter isolationist, Dostoevski, revealing himself as the precursor of the Russian Communists of today.

University of Texas

T. W. RIKER

WOMAN AS FORCE IN HISTORY: A STUDY IN TRADITIONS AND REALITIES. By *Mary R. Beard*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1946. Pp. viii, 369. \$3.50.)

Is there some wry satisfaction for authors, when they know that their books pose problems in the selection of reviewers? Take this book for example; more than one male historian has expressed doubt whether it should be reviewed by a woman. Their doubt in itself poses interesting queries, in respect to the doubters as well as the book and author, besides warning the reviewer that any comments will meet piercing scrutiny. The doubts are due, in part, to the fact that Mrs. Beard in earlier works has been known to indict historical scholarship.

Can this author qualify as a critic? Is she a historical scholar? She "permits no designation of herself other than that of student and writer," according to the dust jacket of this volume. But certain damning facts must be admitted, such as, that she is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, has done graduate work (albeit without pursuit of a Ph.D.) and delves industriously into Latin, Greek, French, German, and English sources. She does not furnish specific page references for quotations, in a battery of notes at the foot of each page; but she shows tremendous curiosity on matters ancient, medieval, and modern, having visited many of the original sites of various civilizations. Furthermore, the works she cites in the text of this book, and the additional volumes listed in the twenty-six-page illustrative and classified bibliography, would seem to indicate a strong desire to get at the truth, a desire supposed to characterize scholars particularly. Even in her shortcomings

this author errs along scholarly lines; she is not guiltless of reiteration, prosiness, and overamplification.

A main reason for much of the questioning of Mrs. Beard's book rises from her favorite field of inquiry and her conclusions in it. Asking whether women have functioned as force in long history, she goes to the sources and ascertains that they have: in social, political, and economic undertakings; in legal, religious, moral, philosophical, and military matters. They have thus functioned in varying degrees, places, and periods which she describes in considerable detail. What she objects to, is that woman's historic functioning, thus proven, has not been more commonly admitted during the modern age. She analyzes the recent ways of speaking about women—by men (chapter III) and by women (chapter II). She finds that historians and political scientists, rather more than psychologists and sociologists, have been uncritical. Most of them—unlike de Tocqueville and Alfred Adler—have carelessly accepted the fiction of women's subjection throughout history, have ignored or minimized their participation, and have ascribed to them intellectual inferiority. They have relied too completely upon Blackstone's analysis of women's legal status in his *Commentaries*, which misled readers concerning the obtainable property rights of women under equity, parliamentary law, and actual day-to-day practice. They have failed to note that women share in family rights.

Outstanding sinners in the matter of accepting the "fantastic myth" that women were not force in long history include the leaders of the woman's rights movements in the United States. Even foreigners sympathetic to women have shared this blindness: Mary Wollstonecraft vividly portrayed the alleged age-long social tyranny of man over woman, from which she strove to show the road to freedom; Mr. and Mrs. John Stuart Mill wrote of the *Subjection of Women*; Marxian socialists such as August Bebel accepted the doctrine of subjection, after primitive times, and preached communism as a release from it.

It seems to this reviewer that this book is not a rash challenge but is couched in constructive rather than denunciatory terms. It has demonstrated sound historical techniques and its indictment holds against a great many historians. However, most of the historians are made. Is it most effective, human nature being what it is, to address the indictment largely to that class of readers? Would more results come from addressing the plea mainly to women—those few who already are making considerable use of their talents and the many who scarcely realize their own capabilities? But few of either class seem likely to read this sober treatise, this sourcebook. Its diction is occasionally heavy and involved, its humor sometimes seems inadvertent, and its deliberate appeal is to a reading level which is not common.

In view of Mrs. Beard's genuine desire to encourage the use of women's talents "in the struggle *against* disruptive forces of barbarism and *for* the realization of the noblest ideals in the heritage of humanity" (p. 332) she might well tackle, for her next book, a much more difficult job. She might reduce the substance of her

researches in this field to a small, paperbound, "pocket-book-type" of book written to interest many thousands of women. Her vast labors thereby might move a little more forward to fruition.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THUCYDIDES AND THE WORLD WAR. By *Louis E. Lord*, Professor of Classics, Emeritus, Oberlin College, Chairman of the Managing Committee, American School of Classical Studies at Athens. [Martin Classical Lectures, Volume XII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Oberlin College. 1945. Pp. xii, 300. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Lord's title is somewhat misleading. Of the original lectures on "Thucydides, the First Modern Historian" which he delivered at Oberlin College in 1943, only two, "Thucydides and the Writing of History" and "Thucydides and the World War," have been substantially incorporated in the present volume. Between them six further chapters have been inserted dealing with "Thucydides' Athens," "The Setting," "Thucydides' Narrative" (three chapters), and finally "The History," in which the author discusses such topics as Thucydides' attitude toward science and toward economics, his digressions, his style, his character sketches, and his mind.

Both sections of the work have much to offer to the thoughtful reader. The six chapters of interpretation present an abundance of striking and felicitous observation, the ripe fruit of a lifetime of reading and pondering; and the closing comparative study contains a remarkable series of startling and suggestive parallels—Athens and Germany, Sparta and Britain, Persia and the United States, Pericles and Lloyd George, Nicias and Baldwin, Cleon and Chamberlain. But the inner connection between the two groups of studies is of the slenderest, and the conclusions at which the author arrives in his attempt to forecast the future course of World War II in the light of Thucydides' interpretation of the Peloponnesian War have little permanent interest. Some of them merely stress the obvious—*e.g.*, that even greater crimes against humanity are likely to be perpetrated, and that victory will go to the side with the greater resources; others, if somewhat more precise, have in the meantime been disproved by events—*e.g.*, the prediction that the collapse of the Axis would be sudden, because the bully is not a good loser (p. 248).

Perhaps the author might have penetrated further into the truly great and significant issue raised by him, if instead of confining himself to the always equivocal comparison of isolated individual elements and personalities, he had concentrated upon the striking contrast between the inner unity of Thucydides' immortal work and the as yet wholly perplexing problem of the deeper unity of our own recent struggle—or, even more, of our two world wars.

For the solitary greatness of Thucydides lies precisely in the unique intensity

of his feeling for the essential—for the ultimately decisive issues deep down at the bottom of events—which drove him to bring out, with single-minded directness and utterly compelling force, the inexorable necessity of the great clash between Athens and Sparta. It is the overpowering “inner necessity” of that conflict—pursued by Thucydides through the discovery of the “inner structure of history” in his inexhaustible distinction between “prophasis” and “aitia”—which, clearly recognized by both Sthenelaidas and Pericles, shapes the course of the struggle, sustains its essential unity over all divergences and interruptions, and imparts to the ultimate fall of Athens its tragic pathos. (How Thucydides succeeds in reconciling this profound conviction of inner necessity and unity with his constant insistence upon the unpredictable role of chance in war is one of the deepest problems of his genius, which it is impossible more than to touch upon within this limited space.)

It is this contrast between the clear-cut inner necessity and unity of the Peloponnesian War, so compellingly brought out by Thucydides, and the absence of any similar clear-cut opposition and dominating issue in our own two world wars, which, it would seem to me, constitutes the great lesson, and the stimulus, which the historian can derive from the confrontation of Thucydides and the World War.

Washington, D. C.

HERBERT ROSINSKI

LA FAILLITE DE LA PAIX (1918-1939). Par *Maurice Baumont*, Professeur au Conservatoire national des Arts et Metiers. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac, XX.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1945. Pp. 815. 400 fr.)

Enfin! French historical scholarship is itself again. New studies are appearing of the kind that students have for long been accustomed to expect from France: intelligent as well as learned, interesting as well as informative. Professor Baumont's volume in the famous series edited by Halphen and Sagnac lives up to its high standard. It is a general summary of world history in its political, social, economic, and cultural aspects during the period between the two world wars. However, most of the space is devoted to Europe, where the great problems which arose after the first World War profoundly affected the fate of all mankind.

The central theme of the volume is that the first World War marked the end of the bourgeois liberal world and the beginning of the worker's socialist world. The period 1918-1939 was the gestation period of the new era in which a social order, built on a planned economy, was to abolish poverty, and an international order, built on the League of Nations, was to abolish war. Professor Baumont's background of fine scholarship and his unusual powers of analysis are at their best when he describes the rising hopes and successes of the first years of the period and the disappointments and crushing failures that followed. In the national sphere

the democratic governments went down before the onrush of dictatorships, communist and fascist. In the international sphere the League of Nations shriveled into nothingness because it was incapable of either preserving the status quo, established by the Treaty of Versailles, or of devising plans for its modification. The Allies had won the war but had lost the peace. This was the great *faillite*, the outcome of which was the greatest calamity in history, the second World War.

What were the forces that brought on this world-wide bankruptcy? First and foremost was the appearance of totalitarian dictatorships that repudiated the liberal heritage of the nineteenth century. Though deadly enemies communism and fascism were yet one in their bitter hostility to bourgeois liberalism that was passing out and to democratic socialism that was coming in. They were also united in a common hatred of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, which they regarded as blocking their path to world conquest.

Professor Baumont devotes several interesting chapters to the advent of fascism in Italy and in Germany. He vividly describes the *grand peur* that swept Italy in 1920 when the revolutionary workers went on a general strike and seized the factories. Mussolini, who until then had few followers, quickly found himself at the head of an armed and disciplined body of 300,000 Black Shirts. His success in establishing a dictatorship on the ruins of the parliamentary system was primarily due, according to the author, to the paralysis of its defenders when faced with the threat of a communist revolution. The same political pattern appeared in Germany, only more sinister and far more dangerous to the peace of the world. With the defeat of Germany the power of the state fell into the lap of the Social Democrats. Having played the part of a sterile opposition under the empire they were, in the judgment of Professor Baumont, both unfit and unwilling to direct the Weimar Republic. Fear of communism caused the Social Democrats to seek the aid of the army officers to protect the Republic. As a consequence the army resumed its *silencieux pouvoir* over the new government with the passive acquiescence of the Social Democrats. The election to the presidency, in 1925, of Hindenburg, *le massif généralissime de la monarchie*, showed plainly enough where real power lay. It soon became evident that the reactionary forces had no intention to maintain the Republic, pledged to carry out the *Diktat* of Versailles. What was necessary was a popular movement that was opposed both to the Republic and to Versailles. This was supplied by the Nazis. As the Communists grew in numbers, so did the Nazis, only larger and faster. Faced with enemies on all sides—imperialists, fascists, and communists—the defenders of Weimar abandoned themselves to *une passivité fataliste*. When the elections of March, 1933, resulted in a majority for the Nazi-Nationalist combination the Republic went down to destruction without a finger being raised in its defense.

Hitler's triumph, according to the author, constituted not only a national but an international revolution. A world-wide duel was soon in progress between the class internationalism of Soviet Russia and the race internationalism of Nazi

Germany. Fear of communism began to subside when Russia, under Stalin, proclaimed the doctrine of "socialism in one country," and "world revolution gave way to the industrial revolution" of the Five Year Plan. But dread of fascism grew apace as the shadow of Nazi Germany became ever larger and ever darker. France, paralyzed with fear, sought shelter behind the Maginot Line. England, bewildered and unprepared, sought safety in a policy of appeasement. The smaller states either made common cause with Italy and Germany or huddled in terror awaiting their onslaught.

The destruction of the Russian and Habsburg empires removed these powerful bulwarks against aggression by Germany and Italy. Europe in truth became a continent of "dead empires and sick republics." What made matters worse was the determined isolationism of America and the cooling off of England toward France. As a consequence an unstable power situation arose; and the only possible stabilizer was the League of Nations. Professor Baumont makes only too clear the pathetic role of the League in this great crisis. Viewed in historical perspective its heroes, Briand and McDonald, do not loom as large as they did in the period 1924-1930, the high noon of the League. Briand was a cynical sentimentalist who saw in the League an opportunity to recapture his early dream of socialist internationalism. McDonald was first and foremost a pacifist, pre-1914 style. Even after the advent of Hitler he maintained his faith in the League *avec un doux entêtement de pacifiste irréductible*. After the China "incident" of 1931 and especially after Italy's attack on Ethiopia the hope of collective security vanished, and the League became *une simple académie de non-intervention*. As it was sarcastically remarked, it "touched nothing that it did not adjourn."

Another cause of the great *faillite*, according to Professor Baumont, was the world-wide depression of 1929. It was the economic counterpart of the *malaise* that afflicted international relations, and gave a tragic indication of the passing of the old economic order. Many eyes turned, some willingly others unwillingly, toward Moscow. Many others turned toward Berlin hoping to save both their money and their souls. In desperation the democracies sought to make a peaceful transition from laissez faire capitalism to a planned economy. But the social reforms of the Popular Front in France, of the Labour party in England, and of the Roosevelt New Deal in America were interrupted by the swift advance of the hurricane of war. After it had passed, hardly a wrack of old Europe was left standing.

All students of public affairs should read Professor Baumont's book. It will give them a vivid sense, not merely of the problems between the two world wars, but also those that confront us today. It is even more true now than after the first World War that, as H. G. Wells remarked, history is a race between education and catastrophe. We can learn from history if we have the will to do so.

City College, New York

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

WARTIME MISSION IN SPAIN, 1942-1945. By *Carlton J. H. Hayes*, Late American Ambassador to Spain. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. viii, 313. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Hayes has written an extremely interesting—even entertaining—and an extremely informing little volume concerning his mission to Spain. Its style embodies a happy compromise between technical historical writing and popular story telling. It is true that the result will satisfy neither the popular reader nor the fanatical scholar but the very important general reader will be satisfied, and much primary historical material is to be found in these pages which will be indispensable to the research student.

In some three hundred swiftly moving pages the author tells of his being appointed and sent as United States ambassador to Spain in April-May, 1942, of his dealings with the Spanish government during three years of the most crucial kind of situations and happenings, dealings aimed chiefly at preventing Spanish aid to the Axis or interference with our African landings, crowned as time passed with striking success, and of his return in 1945, laden with reflections on Spanish-American relations and international problems by no means confined to the immediate situation in their significance. Throughout the book there is to be found the smooth mixture of factual narrative and judicious interpretation characteristic of Professor Hayes's other historical writings.

Exception can be taken, of course, to various detailed statements and appreciations here and there; this is not the place to dwell upon such items nor do they impair to any serious degree the total picture or its component parts. There is a world of room for different shadings of opinion concerning the political and international issues involved; in particular Professor Hayes seems to lean over backward in his lack of criticism of Russia (not of communism but of Russia as an international factor) and likewise in his orthodox "diplomatic" attitude toward the persons of fascist leaders.

There is, however, no shadow of justification to be found here for the violent denunciation of the Hayes mission which has issued from some quarters. The ambassador was clearly and strongly American and antifascist. Unless it is to be maintained that the United States should have at the very least broken off diplomatic relations with Franco or not sent a Catholic as representative to Madrid, the former a disastrous idea and the second trivial nonsense, the Hayes mission deserves almost unqualified approval. Of course the outcome turned largely on what was done at the time by the White House, the Department of State, the Foreign Economic Administration, and others, but unless one adopts the fanatical attitude mentioned above the conclusion must be that the mission was a solid success.

Washington, D. C.

PITMAN B. POTTER

THE AMERICAN RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS: A REVIEW OF THE FIRST FORTY YEARS. By *Frank Aydelotte*, American Secretary to the Rhodes Trustees. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 208. \$2.00.)

The Rhodes Scholarships warrant something more than a footnote in a text-book on the history of education. They were the first large-scale program of international scholarships—the Boxer indemnity scholarships did not come until 1908—and, as this volume makes clear, have led directly to a number of other programs. The scholarships have been in use now for slightly more than forty years. The earlier scholars have turned sixty. The majority of the scholars, of whom there are more than 1,000 scattered over the country, are in mid-career. Frank Aydelotte, the American secretary of the Rhodes Trust, who in 1905 was appointed to a scholarship from Indiana, attempts no official judgment on the success of Rhodes's "magnificent experiment," but rather reviews the salient features of the scholarships and their more obvious effects.

The first two chapters go together. The first traces the development of Rhodes's intention as revealed by his seven remarkable wills. There is no doubt that Rhodes's objective was to bring together the English-speaking countries, though he offers no blueprint for the reunion. The second chapter deals with the selection of the scholars—Rhodes's specifications, and how these have been interpreted by the committees of selection. The American record at Oxford, the special contribution of Oxford to Americans, and the careers of the Rhodes scholars subsequently in this country form the content of the next chapters. Chapter vi sums up the results: Has Rhodes's idea justified itself—not merely in terms of helping certain individuals, but also in terms of Rhodes's original intent and hope? Dr. Aydelotte warns against a premature answer. The Rhodes scholars are not yet at their maximum: by 1955 the number will have risen to approximately 1,500. Twenty years more are needed before the full effects will be evident. Nor have the Rhodes scholars ever acted as a group. As individuals, however, they hold a remarkably influential position in American life, and this influence has been quite clearly on the side of international co-operation. In the meanwhile during these forty years forces vastly greater than those which Rhodes set in motion are bringing about a unity of the English-speaking peoples. It is enough to say of Rhodes that he saw long in advance the basic problem of our times and that his plan for achieving international understanding has furthered what appears to be the primary movement of our national life.

Appendixes giving the distribution of the Rhodes scholars by American colleges, by Oxford colleges, and by present occupations, along with an alphabetical list of the scholars follows the text.

Vanderbilt University

HARVIE BRANSCOMB

Ancient and Medieval History

FATALISME ET LIBERTE DANS L'ANTIQUITE GRECQUE: RECHERCHES SUR LA SURVIVANCE DE L'ARGUMENTATION MORALE ANTIFATALISTE DE CARNEADE CHEZ LES PHILOSOPHES GRECS ET LES THEOLOGIENS CHRETIENS DES QUATRE PREMIERS SIECLES. Par *Dom David Amand*, Moine de Maredsous, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 3^{me} série, 19^e fascicule.] (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1945. Pp. xxviii, 608.)

"THIS is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune, often the surfeit of our own behaviour, we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars; as if we were villains on necessity." It was more than foppery in the ancient world; not least because it received the patronage of Stoicism, which came to regard astrology as a corroboration of its own view of world order as determined by world reason.

Dom Amand's interest was aroused by St. Basil's invectives against astrology, which, like many earlier and later Christian utterances, show distress at the persistence of such ideas and eagerness to safeguard the principle of individual moral responsibility. He proceeded to study the antecedents of the polemic, finding its *fons et origo* in the oral teaching of Carneades. The empirical arguments (*e.g.*, the uselessness of foreknowledge; the impossibility of determining the exact celestial conjuncture at the moment of a birth; the fact that identical destinies went with different horoscopes and different destinies with identical horoscopes) here receive attention, but Amand is primarily concerned with the moralistic consideration that belief in an absolute fate makes nonsense of rewards and punishments.

The continuity of such polemic has been noted by Wendland, Boll, and others. Amand follows his theme in detail, giving an adequate characterization of each author in the chain, to the end of the fourth century A.D. The treatment is throughout generous, well informed, and penetrating. To Amand the clearheaded Alexander of Aphrodisias, the great Origen, the broad Eusebius, and the rest are individuals, not museum specimens; individuals in spite of much "*psittacisme*"—inevitable here as in the Argument from Design.

Rich as is Amand's body of relevant material, it might with profit have been a little enlarged. Sallustius' *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, chapter ix, deserves a reference, as combining a form of the moral argument with some of the ethical considerations; Sallustius, as a representative of Julian's revival of paganism, was in earnest on this as were Christian teachers. Again, it would be worth quoting the extension of Zeno's counterargument, that the criminal is pre-

destined to punishment as well as to sin, in *Corpus Hermeticum* XII 5; it is so matter of fact.

The subtitle should not lead readers to see the influence of Carneades, at however many removes, wherever arguments against fatalism appear. As Amand shows, Aristotle and Epicurus anticipated the moral argument, and Diodorus (of the Megarian school) the logical argument; Chrysippus strove to meet just such objections. While Amand allows that his reconstruction cannot give more than the main lines of Carneadean polemic, it is bold to speak of "*interpolations chrétiennes*" (p. 520). Arguments of Carneades were preserved in the Academy (Galen, *De optima doctrina*, 2 [in *Scripta minora*, I, 86]), and his attack on determinism was famous; but did it not probably stress a lack of logic rather than a lack of justice? (Cf. p. 62. The moral argument is absent from Favorinus as quoted by Aulus Gellius, XIV, 1, and from Sextus Empiricus.) Neither the case against astrology, nor any part of it, and least of all the moral one when standing alone can be supposed to have been to the ancients Carneadean in the sense in which the ideas were Platonic and number was Pythagorean—and even that Fate or Heimarmene was Stoic. Free will aroused wide general interest; the question "of things in our power" is taken up by Stobaeus as the next topic after ethics in general. As for astrology, its pros and cons are discussed in one extant rhetorical exercise (the fourth Declamation ascribed to Quintilian), and, general as was acceptance of the art, there was plenty of hostility and sarcasm.

The volume is none the less very welcome, and Dom Amand is a scholar from whom we must hope to hear much more.

Harvard University

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

THE ROMAN RHETORICAL SCHOOLS AS A PREPARATION FOR THE COURTS UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE. By *Brother E. Patrick Parks*, F.S.C. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIII, Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1945. Pp. 122. \$1.25.)

THIS book is a great deal more than a learned study. It is a vigorous and ingenious defense of a much abused aspect of Roman life and thought. Rhetoric has in modern times been made a term of reproach and the Roman rhetorical writers have been decried as the sources of the tendency to sacrifice substance to verbal ornament. In the same way, "casuistry" has acquired an almost exclusively pejorative connotation, as though in ethics or in law it is possible to avoid marginal problems or to discuss them without the use of supposititious instances.

Brother Patrick breaks several lances in defense of the genre he examines, and uses primarily the *Suasoriae* of the elder Seneca and the Declamations ascribed to Quintilian, as illustrations. He regards the Declamations as genuine Quintilian (p. 100, n. 129), an opinion I cannot share. Neither Ritter nor Fleiter has carried

much conviction to other scholars. What particularly rouses his antagonism is the common opinion that the destruction of the republic reduced eloquence to a vain display of oratorical futility. He is quite right in rejecting this hackneyed assertion, but it is none the less true that political oratory necessarily disappeared, even if important and socially useful types were left.

His antipathy for Tacitus I think is quite justified, but he misunderstands Tacitus' reference to *libertas* in Ann. I, 75 (p. 33). Indeed, his own idea of liberty either in law or ethics is one with which most of us would find difficulty.

The best part of his book is that which sets forth the value of the derided "declamations" for the analysis of equitable principles. The weakest is the first part, dealing with Roman judicial procedure. He is gravely in error on the position of the *iudex* who was certainly not made merely a judge of facts by the formula (pp. 46-47). Cicero's *Pro Quintio* which was delivered before a *iudex* would make this clear. Nor does Sohni make the statement ascribed to him in note 130.

The bibliography—both in the notes and on page 118—obviously does not mean to be complete. The author would have found help in J. Sprenger's Halle dissertation (1911) on the legal aspects of the declamations and in such studies as Hagendahl's in the *Apophoreta* honoring Dr. Vilhelm Lundström (pp. 282-338), S. Rossi, "Vita e Realtà," in the *Rivista Indogermanica* (1918), and in many of Radermacher's articles as well as his preface to Quintilian (1935). Hofrichter's study, cited several times by Kroll in his article on "Rhetorik" in the *Realenzyklopädie*, was not available to me, nor Gonella's edition of the Declamations.

The book will be valuable and stimulating even for those who find themselves in sharp disagreement with the author. It is to be hoped he will continue his studies in this important and unduly underestimated field.

University of California

MAX RADIN

NEW TESTAMENT LIFE AND LITERATURE. By *Donald W. Riddle*, formerly University of Chicago, and *Harold H. Hutson*, Birmingham-Southern College. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 263. \$3.00.)

The most fascinating single problem of history is that of the origin of Christianity. Of late years American scholarship has made a number of contributions to the field in the form of "introductions" to the New Testament (descriptions of the origin and contents of the several books). Riddle and Hutson have now produced another of these. Written primarily for undergraduate courses in the Bible, books of this kind serve both as textbooks and as convenient summaries of scholarly points of view, especially when, as in this case, they are written by leading scholars in the field.

As a textbook this is extremely well organized. A series of twenty-one chapters, each of about eleven pages, divides the subject into assignments which will save

the teacher much labor. The writing is crystal clear, and, except in the first two chapters, admirably avoids cataloguing a lot of topical references. The student is always kept studying the forest rather than counting trees.

Both of the authors have long been known among New Testament scholars for their advocacy of what is called form-criticism, the latest technique for getting at historical fact behind the traditional episodes and utterances associated with Jesus in the Gospels. I have nowhere else seen so admirably clear a brief presentation of this method of study and its results as is made in this volume.

One weakness in the book, it seems to me, should be pointed out for the sake of subsequent revisions. The work now reads too much as a final statement of historical facts, not enough as an introduction to the most disputed subject of history. The authors seem to have answered every problem; they have dated within a decade, if not more closely, nearly every document or part of a document; and while they disclaim ability to reconstruct the biography of Jesus, they know exactly the stages of development of ideas and organization through which the growing church passed. Such confidence recalls the assurance of the most orthodox theologians in quite different dates and schemes of development, and actually presents to the student, if he begins with a traditional orthodoxy, a choice between two dogmatic solutions rather than a proper introduction into a controverted field. That the reviewer disagrees with many conclusions of the authors is to be expected, but nothing would be gained by asserting that they are wrong. Actually, on the points of disagreement, the authors may be entirely right. But that they might be wrong at any point is something the authors never suggest to the reader, and this seems to me a pity. For good pedagogy and good history alike hypothetical conclusions should be presented in the subjunctive mood. So a change in the mood of a good many verbs would be one of the few ways to improve this very excellent book.

Yale University

ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH

L'EPOQUE MEROVINGIENNE: ESSAI DE SYNTHÈSE DE PHILOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE. Par *Henry François Muller*. (New York: S. F. Vanni. 1945. Pp. 304. \$5.00.)

THE Merovingian period is one of the most mysterious in European history despite the bright patches illuminated by Gregory of Tours. As Professor Muller says, it is "*une époque sans âme*" because "*aucun de ces domaines dont s'occupe l'histoire ne se trouvait en rapport avec les autres*" (p. 295). Yet it is in this period of recorded history that there takes place the greatest social and linguistic revolution the steps of which can be followed with certainty (p. 294). In *L'époque mérovingienne* Professor Muller heroically faces the task of providing a synthesis to bind these disparate parts into a consistent whole. Since he considers every human revolution essentially psychological (p. 110), he adopts as the key to an understanding

of developments from the sixth to the eighth centuries a specific analysis of man's psyche which he perceives at work in the political, social, economic, artistic, and linguistic facts of the time. His book thus becomes an attempt to order Merovingian man's experiences and conduct around a psychological state which was induced by conditions existing in the later Roman Empire. The whole of the ordinary man's life in the ancient world had been integrated into the social life of the smaller political entities which were subsequently absorbed into the great empire. His old citizenship declined in meaningfulness and, although at least by the time of Caracalla he had secured Roman citizenship, such Roman citizenship had become a title devoid of meaning. The ordinary man, thus reduced to a position of insignificance in the political and social realities of the expanded empire, tended to seek refuge in a mystical world where not only heroes and emperors but also ordinary men were endowed with immortality. It was in this mystical world that any man, however humble, could realize his profound desire for dignity and worth. The triumphant expression of this value of the individual man as such appeared in the doctrines of Christianity. Its exaltation of the individual, from the social point of view, tended toward a kind of democratization, a triumph of the masses (p. 13), a "vulgarization" of society, as Professor Muller might have said.

In the philological portion Professor Muller describes the principal developments in the phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary of vulgar Latin, not merely to show the changes from classical Latin but rather to show why the changes occurred as they did. With considerable subtlety he describes effects resulting from the increased emphasis on the individual, the liberation of the individual from restraint, the highlighting of the actor at the expense of the more impersonal forms of expression, the reflection of the interests of the man of the masses. Since for Professor Muller the linguistic development is the product of the subconscious element of the social soul whereas the object of the historian's preoccupation stems from the conscious and rational part of the social soul, historical and philological developments should reveal the same soul at work. If they do, then history confirms philology (preface), and vice versa; and the synthesis is vindicated. Professor Muller presents his historical tableaux in generous dimensions and with a great deal of skill. It is inevitable from his basic presuppositions that the plot will concentrate on the inworking of Christianity in the lives of the Franks and their subjects. There is no denying that this is a fundamental theme in Merovingian history, and Professor Muller has described the process with great lucidity. Many as are the beads gathered together on this "synthetic" string, there are some which hang by a very slender thread such as the modern agricultural village whose transformation from the *fundus* is ascribed a Christian origin (p. 113). Engrossed as historians are likely to be in this or that facet of the past, they should not turn a deaf ear to a colleague's attempt to gather the bits together. It is a noble, if difficult task. It is easier to criticize Professor Muller's attempt to "synthesize" the Merovingian period than to replace it. He has painted a large canvas with a

distinctive personal style, and the Merovingian period emerges more comprehensible for his efforts. There may still be more to the story but with his help order makes some progress over chaos.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. ODEGAARD

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. LEO THE GREAT. By *Trevor Jalland*. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. viii, 542. \$5.75.)

THIS book, which is the first significant full-length study in English dealing with Leo I (pope, 440–61), one of the most important figures in the history of the Western church, ranks high among recent productions in the field of medieval ecclesiastical history. Though it does not represent new or original research, it has the merit of providing a clear, concise, and carefully documented outline of what is known about Leo in an attractive form, abundantly illustrated by excerpts from Leo and contemporary sources. After an introductory sketch of the political situation in the fifth century, Dr. Jalland discusses Leo's early youth and ministry, his election to the papacy, his view of the authority of the Roman See, his relations with the churches of the West and the East, his homiletical writings, his ethics, and his theology. Several other matters are treated in appendixes and additional notes, but the emphasis throughout is on Leo's contribution to the Roman Catholic doctrine of papal supremacy and on the part he played in the theological controversies of his day. Dr. Jalland combines erudition with lucidity, and his monograph is bound to prove useful to students and specialists alike. Both Great Britain and the author are to be congratulated for having turned out such a book during the war.

Dr. Jalland writes as a partisan of Leo, and his partisanship is not always tempered by adequate treatment of countervailing evidence. When, for example, he states (p. 298) that the Chalcedonian Symbol of 451 "incorporates to a remarkable extent Leo's own teaching" and that it embraces "a formula which was demonstrably dependent on Leonine Christology," he neglects to add that it owes much also to Cyril, the Union Creed of 433, the *Eranistes* of Theodoret, and the doctrinal definitions set forth by Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum at the Constantinopolitan Synod of 448. If he had paid more attention to the historical antecedents of Dyophysitism, his defense of Leo's Christology against modern critics would have been sounder and more convincing. Other omissions of a somewhat similar nature are noted in reviews by J. E. L. Oulton (*Church Quarterly Review*, CXXXIII [1942], 238–40) and R. L. P. Milburn (*Journal of Theological Studies*, XLIII [1942], 106–10).

This defect is in part bibliographical. And although a busy churchman like Dr. Jalland, who is vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford, should not, perhaps, be expected to keep up with the technical bibliography of his subject, it must be

admitted that he has often overlooked important publications. Thus, in his note on the Manichaeans (pp. 56 ff.), he does not take into account the texts recently edited by Allberry, Andreas, Henning, Polotsky, Schmidt, etc. (1932 ff.), and the large literature that has grown up around them, despite the accessibility of this information in the journals and in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII (1939), 773-75. (Cf. also the theory of W. R. W. Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen, Die Schule von Tours*, 1.2 [Berlin, 1933], 109-212, that Leo's anti-Manichaean polemic provided the text for a series of miniatures commissioned by Leo himself and extant now only in Carolingian copies.) Most disturbing of all is his failure to utilize the investigations of C. Silva-Tarouca, who has published valuable essays on Leo as well as annotated critical editions of Leo's dogmatic epistles and related materials: "Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei Papi," *Gregorianum*, XII (1931), 3-56, 349-425, 547-98 (also published separately [Rome, 1932]); *S. Leonis Magni Tomus ad Flavianum Episc. Constantinopolitanum Additis Testimoniis Patrum et . . . Epistula ad Leonem I Imp. (Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Textus et Documenta, Series Theologica, IX [Rome, 1932])*; *S. Leonis Magni Epistulae contra Eutychis Haeresim* (same series, XV and XX [Rome, 1934-35]). To say no more of other slips of this kind, the list of biographies of Leo is far from complete; and, among the authorities cited on the history of Christian doctrine, too much space is given to chaff, to the exclusion of more fundamental works.

The translations are excellent on the whole, although *inenarrabilis gratiae* (p. 2), which Jalland erroneously quotes as *inerrabilis g.*, is clumsily rendered as "unspeakable generosity"; and *lapsibus humanis* (p. 484) is awkwardly translated "human falls." In addition, there are a number of typographical errors, and mistakes of one sort or another in quotations from the Greek and Latin are not infrequent.

Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University

MILTON V. ANASTOS

ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY. The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term, 1943, by *Wilhelm Levison*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 347. \$5.00.)

THE framework within which the content of this book falls is a significant piece of history, long familiar and unquestioned: the missions from Ireland to Christianize and civilize the Teutonic pagans both in Britain and on the Continent, the Roman mission to England sent by Gregory the Great, the decision at Whitby, the work of Archbishop Theodore, the following Anglo-Saxon missions carrying Christianity and much that was Greek and Roman to the "Old Saxons" and other Continental pagans—all culminating in the fame of Boniface and Alcuin and Charlemagne's palace school. Within this field and dealing specially with the eighth century Frankish-Mercian connections under Charlemagne and Offa, there

is here a filling in of detail that astonishes a historian who has not been steeped in the numberless researches published since about 1900, of Merovingian, Carolingian, and Anglo-Saxon specialists. Dr. Levison has been prominent among these and conversant with what has been done by both English and Continental scholars—work oblivious of war, full of enthusiasm and not seldom of polemical gusto. He is one of many “colleagues and pupils” who “did not bow the knee to Baal,” and he speaks gratefully of the invitation in 1939 which took him from his *alma mater* *Bonnensis* and made him an honorary fellow of the University of Durham. He even hints that the kindness and congeniality of English scholars may lead him to find a positive answer to the question which he cites from Goethe, *Kann uns zum Vaterland die Fremde werden*.

These distinguished lectures appear here as six essays in some fifteen divisions, with an appendix (nearly half the book) of eleven highly technical studies, mostly of pertinent texts. It would be hard to find any step in historical method, “external” or “internal,” which this book does not illustrate, and one feels after reading it that the sketchy picture in the familiar frame has been given body and life. This is its service rather than fundamental change or addition.

An introduction deals with the routes of travel and trade between the island and the Continent, showing a “Saxon Shore” on both sides of the Channel. Then the following items, picked rather at random, may show something of the author’s emphasis and special interests: origin of English coinage; a “national” English church without breaking the Roman connection; special significance of the *pallium* in England and its transfer to the Continent; English pilgrimages to Europe and the Holy Land as an ascetic practice—the Borgo Santo Spirito an English “borough” in Rome; fading of differences between “Irish Christianity” and the “Roman Christianity” of England—a Northumbrian king in 684 calling the Irish people *nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam*; Willibrord and his great Frisian mission establishing the Roman influence via England which molded the ecclesiastical constitution in Germany; the papal-legate tradition stemming from England; why the *Anno Domini* chronology rooted in England spread to the Continent; early reform movements a sort of pre-Cluny with England as its “Cluny,” and the inevitable accompanying heretics—“strange wandering enthusiasts of robust superstitions”; why the name “Anglo-Saxons” had a Continental origin and the word “Deutsch” an English; ascendancy of Roman influence in the mass coming via England, to be completed through direct German and French relations with Rome; Irish origin of the private penitential system, and Ireland and Greece the prime sources of food restrictions in the canon law; England’s part in establishing the Benedictine Rule as the one rule; English missions the complement of Charlemagne’s political conquests; opposite movements (Continent to England): the archdeacon’s office, the tithe, and the anointing as the church’s share in the making of a king; the *Dei gratia* springing independently on both sides of the Channel; Alcuin’s conception of *imperium* leading to the act of Christmas Day, 800; Irish and English

script and its Continental influence; incessant wandering of manuscripts, Christian and classic, anywhere from Ireland to South Italy; Irish and English as pioneer bibliophiles, and England as the prime source of books in the eighth century, leading to the foundation of Continental libraries; revived interest in poetry and philosophy; Alcuin's leading part in establishing the liturgy, and the basis for regarding him in his day as the "spiritual leader of Europe"; the cessation of English missions and migrating scholars in the ninth century, and yet their continuing influence through their books and their Continental disciples.

One is easily convinced in all this of England's great share in ending the dark era in western Europe and in all that led to the pre-Renaissance of the eighth century; and, in general, is actually given a new sense of the value of the heritage "which is even now a living reality among the individual nations in spite of their differences and their present struggles." But only a specialist in this remote period should pass judgment on the detail of Dr. Levison's findings.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

A. B. WHITE

THE RUSSIAN ATTACK ON CONSTANTINOPLE IN 860. By *Alexander A. Vasiliev*. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1946. Pp. xii, 245. \$4.00, to Academy members \$3.20.)

THE appearance of this long-awaited work is an important event in historical scholarship. In this book Vasiliev, in his true manner, through a masterful analysis of a single episode of Byzantino-Norse relations, has succeeded in giving the reader a historical picture of a wide range and scope. His study will certainly appeal not only to the students of Russian and Byzantine history but to every medievalist, in fact to everyone interested in the deeper historical background of Europe. Vasiliev starts with the first appearance of the Russian envoys in Constantinople and Ingelheim in 838-839; then turns to the Norman raids in the Mediterranean in the ninth century; discusses the questions of the origin of the Russian state and of the possible Russian activities in the Black Sea prior to 860; and finally, deals with the Russian attack on Constantinople in 860. In each case, he first studies the sources, then surveys the literature of the question, and finally, states his own conclusions. An impatient reader, especially if he is not a Byzantine scholar, may be reluctant to follow Vasiliev in his minute analysis of the sources as well as the historiography of each problem. The patient reader will, however, be richly rewarded by the final results of the investigation in which he may feel he has himself participated under Vasiliev's guidance. Vasiliev's most significant conclusion is that in 860 Constantinople was subject to Norman attack both from the East and the West: on the part of the Swedish *Ros*, coming as they did via the Black Sea; and on the part of the Normans (chiefly Danes), striking via the Mediterranean. In this way, the Russian attack on Constantinople ceases to be an isolated

episode of Russian or Byzantine history; it becomes an important link in the chain of events in the historical development of both eastern and western Europe.

While the reviewer is ready to accept the validity of Vasiliev's main argument, he is unable fully to share Vasiliev's views on the origin of the Russian state. The controversial problem in this regard is whether the center of the so-called Russian Kaganate was in Kiev or in the Azov area. The sources do not record where the Russian envoys to Constantinople in 838 came from. Yet Vasiliev makes them come from Kiev without even discussing the question (p. 9). Meanwhile there is some evidence, in the "Life" of St. Stephen of Surozh as well as in that of St. George of Amastris, that the Russians were active in the Crimea in the late eighth and early ninth century and that they raided Amastris around 840. If this evidence be considered valid, it is most likely that at that time the center of the Russian state was in the Azov area. It was Vasiliev's teacher, V. G. Vasilievsky, who analyzed the evidence of the two "Lives" in great detail asserted their validity. Vasiliev himself in his book *The Goths in the Crimea* (1936) accepted Vasilievsky's views. Now, however, he has changed his opinion and has joined Henri Grégoire in the latter's and his pupil's, Mrs. Da Costa-Louillet's, denial of the authenticity of the source. In the reviewer's opinion neither Grégoire and Mrs. Da Costa-Louillet nor Vasiliev has succeeded in presenting any new or decisive evidence against Vasilievsky's interpretation. Moreover, Vasiliev seems still inclined to accept the possibility of an early penetration of the Russians to the Crimea. On page 174 he makes a characteristic statement which somewhat contradicts his refutation of Vasilievsky. Says Vasiliev: "It is true that in their advance south certain groups of Normans reached the south of present-day Russia, including the Tauric Peninsula, before 860." Thus, the door is kept open by Vasiliev himself for a further discussion of the whole problem of the "Black Sea Rus'."

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

BRISTOL CHARTERS, 1378-1499. Edited by *H. A. Cronne*, Reader in Medieval History in the University of London, King's College. [Bristol Record Society's Publications, Volume XI.] (Bristol: the Society. 1946. Pp. xi, 219.)

THE present volume of the Bristol Record Society's *Publications*, as Mr. Cronne states (preface, p. vii), "is a necessary sequel to the work of Miss N. Dermot Harding in the first volume of this series." The documents here included, he adds, "though perhaps less interesting than those of the earlier period, . . . enable us to follow the last stages in the development of Bristol's medieval constitution." And for anyone desiring further information about that development the editor provides an excellent introduction.

The eighty-three pages of introduction are, indeed, the much more important part of the volume. Mr. Cronne begins with a sketch of "Bristol historians and Bristol corporation archives"; then discusses "the early growth of the borough,"

together with its formal privileges; and ends with a consideration of "some main problems" in the evolution of its government. All this is both scholarly and interesting. I especially like Mr. Cronne's emphasis on economic factors as largely controlling the institutional development of the borough. Religiously sticking to the sources, he indulges in no romantic speculation, but frankly admits that in many cases we have almost no pertinent evidence and that in others we need much further investigation. His concluding sentence should be a challenge to any historian with access to the relevant sources: "The great problems of Bristol municipal government lie in the period between 1200 and 1373, and a satisfactory synthesis of Bristol history in that period has yet to be made."

If Mr. Cronne had not dragged in various generalizations about the Anglo-Saxon borough, I could have refrained from dragging in the following criticism, which necessarily carries the flavor of personal controversy. In an earlier volume of this *Review* (July, 1932) I complimented the Bristol Record Society on the excellence of its first publications and especially praised Mr. Veale's essay on the development of burgage tenure at Bristol (1931)—for he substantially agreed with what I had written on the subject (*English Historical Review*, April, 1930)! Besides, he inspired me to examine William Wyrcestre's map, the frontispiece of William Hunt's *Bristol* (1887), and from it to have a sketch made for my *Borough and Town* (1933). How far Hunt was from understanding the burghal development of Bristol is shown by his guess (p. 8) that its "earliest inhabited part" was what "lay above the river stretching eastward from Barton." Mr. Cronne, rightly disregarding Hunt, now provides a better map than mine in the volume he edits. But his map, unless I am badly mistaken, is quite in the Pirenne-Stephenson-Veale tradition, though Tait's *Medieval English Borough* (1936) is cited by Mr. Cronne (p. 15, n. 1) as "definitive." When was it, I still ask (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 97-98), that Tait ceased to follow the Maurer-Below-Vinogradoff tradition, which took no account of local topography as a primary source for the study of urban growth? And does Tait's book include one sentence on the topography of early Bristol?

Enough of this for the present; sometime in the future I hope to have more to say about what Mr. Cronne says I said about the Anglo-Saxon borough. Meanwhile I urge everyone interested in the history of English towns generally, not merely in that of Bristol, to procure a copy of the Bristol Record Society's *Publications*, Volume XI.

Cornell University

CARL STEPHENSON

ABBOT SUGER ON THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ST.-DENIS AND ITS ART TREASURES. Edited, Translated, and Annotated by *Erwin Panofsky*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 250, plates. \$3.75.)

THE Abbey of St.-Denis ranked among the greatest religious houses in France; indeed, among the greatest of all in western Europe of the twelfth century. Its close

connection with the monarchy and a strategic location in the Ile-de-France destined it for a distinguished and powerful position from an early day. Great abbots and royal favor allowed it to challenge the claims and pretensions of any sister house in the West. Among its greatest abbots was Suger and his place in the history of monastic life and of the twelfth century world has long been assured. He lived in a great age; a determined, forthright character kept him often before the eyes of contemporaries; his ambitions—planned, controlled, fulfilled—have left tangible monuments by which later ages can measure his stature. Although he is possibly not so generally, nor so well known as many a lesser character of his age, few historians would dispute Emile Mâle's description of him as "*un des grands esprits*" of the Middle Ages. Professor Panofsky's beautiful book is a worthy tribute to a strong, great, forceful, sensitive man.

This is, indeed, a volume that many will cherish. It is executed with the skill, learning, grace, and charm one has come to expect in the writings of Professor Panofsky. The book is beautifully printed and bound, has many essential plates and plans, and is printed in type and on paper worthy of its enduring qualities. The translations of Suger's works are, wisely, accompanied by the original Latin texts on which they are based. The *Liber de Rebus in Administratione Sua Gestis* contains only chapter 1 and those chapters beginning with chapter xxiv to the end. As an art historian Professor Panofsky's interest in the second half of Suger's tract is understandable. It deals with the remodeling and the improvements the abbot made in his abbey-church. Historians as a whole will regret that the full work has not been translated so that readers may see Suger also in the role of administrator. The omission of this section is especially regrettable because many who will wish to use this volume will not have ready access to Migne, not to mention the editions of Bouquet and of Lecoy de la Marche. The *Libellus Alter de Consecratione Ecclesiae Sancti Dionysii* is given in full. This gives some fascinating and intimate views into twelfth century life. What reader can forget the scene describing Bishop Geoffroy of Chartres trying to say mass, with equanimity, while columns of the church swayed and moved and his obvious fervent, if pious hope, that his hand extended in blessing would, with divine intercession, sustain the faulty structure? Or Suger's officious anger and annoyance with a Premonstratensian monk who generously offered him a supply of rams when the abbey faced a shortage of meat? Or the section describing how stone columns were obtained for the reconstruction under way at the church. An *Ordinatio* for the year 1140 or 1141 is also included.

Copious notes and comment are provided for each text and the introduction is a fine essay discussing Suger, his world, his contemporaries, and his place in the history of human affairs. This shines in contrast with Cartellieri's factual, dull, and unimaginative study of the abbot. It does not follow that historians will accept all Professor Panofsky's contentions. They will, however, find the essay a stimulating, informing, and challenging piece of work. In any case few will wish to question his assertion that Suger "steps out of the pages of history as a figure surprisingly alive

and surprisingly French: a fierce patriot and a good householder; a little rhetorical and much enamoured of grandeur, yet thoroughly matter-of-fact in practical affairs and temperate in his personal habits; hard working and companionable, full of good nature and *bon sens*, vain, witty, and irrepressibly vivacious."

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

Modern European History

LA CRISE DE L'ECONOMIE FRANÇAISE A LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN REGIME ET AU DEBUT DE LA REVOLUTION. By C. E. Labrousse. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1944. Pp. lxxv, 664. 200 fr.)

THIS volume has a much wider interest than the title indicates. In 1933, Labrousse published the *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au XVIII^e siècle* (see commentary in *American Historical Review*, XLVII [April, 1942], 488-98), in which he applied a method of research inspired by François Simiand. In the new volume, which gives only part of the research projected, the author, who succeeds Marc Bloch at the Sorbonne, elaborates a philosophy and method for the economic historian. His analysis of the mutual benefits that derive from their respective aims and methods should be read by all economists and historians. The forty-seven graphs and tables of the volume result from this method, while the very thorough bibliography is a model of historiography. The fifty-two-page "Introduction générale" is both an introduction and a conclusion, ending with an interpretation of the crisis on the eve of the Revolution. The present reviewer will emphasize appraisal as a historian, since a review article by Shepard B. Clough appears in the November (1946) issue of the *Journal of Economic History*.

Neither economist nor historian will find this volume easy reading. The division into parts, books, chapters, annexes, and extensive summaries of chapters printed twice, tend to give an impression of repetition. Extensive cross references in the footnotes do not compensate for the lack of an index, which it is hoped will appear in the final volume of the series. There is, however, a wealth of information and interpretation that can barely be intimated in a short review. Recent monographic material has frequently been corroborated, but many assertions are controversial. Part I deals with method and Part II is a study of the wine industry in France. The constructive criticism of the work of Simiand and of Labrousse by Georges Lefebvre in the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* (juillet-août, 1937, pp. 289-329), is an invaluable introduction to the present volume.

The comprehensive exposition of source materials and their use (pp. 7-202) will aid all future research in eighteenth century developments. The historian will welcome the glossary of economic terms. Added information about *mercures*, used in the *Esquisse*, is given, and also other statistical sources are de-

scribed and appraised: quartermaster (*de l'étape*) records of prices, estimates and reports of harvests, statistics from inspection of manufactures and accounts of the tax on manufactures (*droit de marque*), statistics of fairs and of the balance of commerce. The analysis involves successive stages from local to national statistics. Labrousse elaborated seven tests of statistics, both quantitative and qualitative, which are particularly useful where categories of information are lacking. Aside from the general analysis of sources in Part I, Labrousse presents detailed information about sources for the wine industry. Loss of documents, notably for the richest wine region, Bordeaux, and the absence of wine from many records of the Old Regime, necessitated extensive research. Where there were important gaps in the data, he sometimes validates the statistics of a region for which full sources are available, as representative of neighboring areas. The exhaustive statistical work for the present volume was facilitated by the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique.

Wine occupied barely ten pages in the *Esquisse*, and Lefebvre noted the need of an adequate study. The importance of a knowledge of the wine industry is clearly set forth by Labrousse. It was second in importance only to wheat in French agriculture. The large area of land devoted to vines and the impossibility of shifting to other crops, the growth of grapes as a commercial crop, and their sale for money are significant features. Furthermore, the value of wine export entailing government regulation and foreign policy, and the large labor supply required in the industry as a whole, attest the importance of the wine industry in French economy. In his earlier volume, Labrousse observed a more moderate rise of long duration, a greater cyclical and smaller seasonal variation of price than for other products. An abnormal fluctuation of short duration, 1778-1791, divergent from that of other products was also noted. Part II is devoted to the description and interpretation of this intercycle.

Beginning with 1778, the wine industry entered a period of overproduction, poor quality, underconsumption, and decreased price, with only a slight rise as compared with the base period. Revenues decline throughout the industry. Among factors in the decline of consumption, despite increased population, were decreased purchasing power in terms of other products, and increased costs, among which Labrousse estimates that *dîmes* and seignorial dues doubled or tripled, and *aides* (tax on wine) quadrupled. The British blockade during the American war was largely compensated for by imports by other European countries, while the treaty of 1786 with England did little to ameliorate the crisis on the eve of the Revolution. Underproduction in 1790 and 1791 failed to produce increased revenues, despite higher prices, since demand continued mediocre and emigration reduced the market for fine wines. The entire wine industry was experiencing a depression between 1778 and 1791.

Labrousse concluded that the lowest group in the wine industry suffered most. All producers without stock, of whom the *métayers* were the most numerous, ex-

perienced a fifty per cent decline in profits, those with medium stock thirty-three per cent, and large estates with great reserves only twenty-two per cent decline. Labrousse distinguishes between nominal and real profits and demonstrates that *métayers* felt the full weight of increased costs, and of higher prices as consumers. He maintains that they constituted a rural radical group by 1789, with common interests with the city proletariat. Labrousse's study of the *métayer* merits attention for itself.

Labrousse considered arguments advanced in the eighteenth century inadequate to explain the abnormal development of the intercycle. While all classes were unanimous in the cahiers against the *aides*, lay wine producers were hostile to the *dîme*, and only the third estate condemned seignorial dues. The *aides* could not be to blame for underconsumption, since they constituted only three per cent of the price, whereas consumption decreased by thirty per cent during the fourteen years studied. Increased use of coffee was a negligible factor, and the effect of the American war only reduced elasticity of demand. While increase of population did not augment consumption, it did intensify unemployment. Neither the operation of supply and demand, the feudal reaction, nor government policy could satisfactorily account for the decline in profits. According to Labrousse, the important factor in the crisis was the general decline of long duration, described in the *Esquisse*.

Labrousse utilizes his findings about the wine industry to appraise the two opposing theses about the outbreak of the French Revolution. On the title page are two quotations, one from Michelet stressing famine and one from Jaurès emphasizing the influence of the bourgeoisie. Labrousse concludes that the cahiers did not exaggerate economic hardship, but he also maintains that the numerous wine producers manifested attitudes similar to the bourgeoisie rather than to other agricultural groups. He noted the paradox that prosperity earlier in the century and the sharp reversal before 1789 both stimulated demand for *laissez-faire*. Bourgeoisie and wine producer both sought economic liberty, and co-operated early in the Revolution to obtain reform. In place of two opposing explanations of the origins of the Revolution, Labrousse advances a significant new interpretation.

This volume, prepared and published during a period when French research was seriously handicapped, is a tribute to French scholarship and merits careful study by American economists and historians.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

HISTOIRE ECONOMIQUE DE LA FRANCE: LES TEMPS MODERNES
(1789-1914). Par *Henri Sée*. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1942. Pp. xlix, 459.)

In 1936 appeared the second volume of *Henri Sée's* *Franzoesische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. The result was a somewhat anomalous situation. What Professor Henri Hauser describes as "the best work on the economic history of France,"

although the work of a French scholar, was written in German. A French version was inevitable. Despite difficulties consequent to the war and the death of the author, the work was accomplished on the basis of the German text and a tentative French translation previously prepared by Dr. Sée. The result was finally published in 1942, and only recently appeared in the United States.

This volume is actually an introduction to the subject indicated by the title. Its rapid, yet relatively detailed, survey of the period begins with the Revolution, with emphasis on the essentially social and juridical reform of agriculture, the *assignats* and their effect, the commercial and industrial depression. The Napoleonic era follows, with its financial retrenchment, the attempt at continental autarchy, its close surveillance of labor.

The second part is devoted to the period from 1815 to 1852. These years see the origins of the French industrial revolution. A close bond springs up between science and industry. Mechanization begins to transform techniques and organization. Rural industries decline. Distances shrink—it is the age of the railroad, steamship, and telegraph. As for agriculture, this period is marked by a gradual improvement in farming techniques, superior implements, the triumph of new crops such as the sugar beet and potato. The author points out, however, that French agriculture was still backward at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century. On the debit side, we also see the harmful effects of industrialization of the working classes, and in reply, the first signs of class consciousness.

The years 1852–1914 are grouped by Sée under the rubric, “L’ère capitaliste,” as its salient feature for him is the triumph of credit capitalism. French industry continues along the lines of mechanization and concentration. Agriculture finally breaks with the past, and the menace of a peacetime famine is banished. Furthermore, in contrast with the other nations of western Europe, especially England, France remains essentially rural, with a backbone of small peasant proprietors. Sée finds this situation beneficent.

No historian, perhaps, is so well equipped as Henri Sée was, to undertake a general survey of this nature. The range of his research is almost incredible. There are, nevertheless, certain phases of French economic history that we might wish to see treated in greater detail. Certainly, the story of the franc would be of great value. The whole picture of the French economy vis-à-vis the rest of the world is not sufficiently delineated. Amounts of exports and imports might better be given, not as lump sums, but analyzed into the products comprised therein. In this connection, the role of immigrant labor and technical skill is deserving of attention. Most important and valuable would be an over-all picture of economic France, resources, problems, potentialities.

More serious is a certain superficiality that pervades the work. The underlying forces determining the path of the industrial revolution, which is undoubtedly the *leitmotif* of this period and gives unity to the whole, are neglected. The relations between machinery and the factory system, and the tremendous social and eco-

conomic implications of the latter as a revolutionary force are not emphasized. The importance of change, of rates of increase of production as against absolute statistics of production, is not appreciated.

In general, we are given facts, but not explanations. Why is the French industrial revolution so much later than the English? Why does Germany surpass France so rapidly in the latter half of the nineteenth century? Why does French industry have to finance itself in the greatest creditor nation in the world? Why is French metallurgy so backward?

Yet any criticisms such as the above must remain essentially trivial. For this is one of the most important works in French history to appear in years, not only because of its subject matter but even more because of the critical bibliography of primary and secondary sources, expertly brought up to date by Robert Schnerb. As a practical instrument of research, the book is an unqualified success. The reader has a thousand "leads" to guide him in further work. The whole tone of the volume is one of care and exactness. In sum, it is worthy of the reputation of an unusually productive scholar, whose contributions as editor, monographer, and historian are unparalleled in his field.

Harvard University

DAVID S. LANDES

PRINCE FELIX ZU SCHWARZENBERG, PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRIA, 1848-1852. By *Adolph Schwarzenberg*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 244. \$3.50.)

THE author states in his preface that it is his task to make Felix, prince zu Schwarzenberg, Austrian prime minister from 1848 to 1852, better known to the English-speaking world. This task he has carried out successfully, and the reader will follow with interest the attempts to rebuild the Habsburg monarchy, after the revolutionary crisis of 1848, made by the first in the line of that generation of political realists which includes the names of Napoleon III and Bismarck, of Cavour and Gortschakoff.

It is sad to learn that the Schwarzenberg archives at Krumlov, Bohemia, were seized by the German National Socialist government. Much remains still to be written on the recent history of Austria, and for this purpose the private archives of the noble families of the Habsburg empire contain invaluable material. Besides those of Krumlov, we may think of the Schwarzenberg archives in Orlik, the Mensdorff-Dietrichstein in Nikolsburg, the Thun in Bodenbach, the Metternich in Plass, and many more. What has happened to them?

This biography of the prime minister is based on already published material. The Staats-Archiv in Vienna may still contain valuable unpublished political correspondence pertinent not only to the early part of Prince Felix's career up to 1848, for which material it has never been searched, but also to the years of his activity as prime minister. The published material has been well used by the

author, and the life of the Austrian statesman is told with considerable historical objectivity. The reader will hardly complain of too high an evaluation, in spite of an attitude of deserved, and in this case very natural, sympathy.

The weaker part of the book is the delineation of the historical background against which Prince Felix is drawn. In the description of the character of Alexander Bach, one of the chief members of Schwarzenberg's cabinet, one misses any reference to those traits which may be explained by the peasant ancestry of the minister of the interior; Friedjung's article on the youth of Alexander Bach would have provided a more reliable basis than that of Ilwolf. It is not easy to understand why the author discusses the policy of Radowitz without consulting the studies of Meinecke, or the relations between Metternich and Schwarzenberg without taking into account Srbik's careful appraisal of them. In the sketch of the ecclesiastical policy of the prime minister no reference is made to the articles of Hussarek on the Austrian concordat.

The reader may have doubts about single statements in the book, such as that Archduke John clung to his duties in Frankfurt during the summer of 1849 "only because Prussia had claimed the central government for herself" (p. 128), or that Bismarck came to Frankfurt "well-disposed towards Austria" (p. 171), though this latter assertion is in a well-known passage of Bismarck's memoirs. Some readers may feel inclined to disagree with the author's estimate of the "ignominy" of Olmütz (pp. 159 f.), or with the statement that the Roman expedition of 1849 was an adventure into which "Napoleon permitted himself to be drawn and that eventually led to Sedan" (p. 194). Some may even doubt that the Russian emperor, in granting military help to the Habsburg monarchy in the summer of 1849, proved "to be more idealistic than the Prussians" (p. 54). Nicolas I, in helping the Habsburgs, might have had excellent reasons from the mere point of view of Russian reasons of state. While the author has accomplished well his main purpose, as given at the beginning of this review, he does not, however, convince the reader that the hero of his book succeeded in such a way that "a uniform nationality comprised all the inhabitants of the Austrian Empire" (p. 63).

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

THE DANZIG DILEMMA: A STUDY IN PEACEMAKING BY COMPROMISE. By *John Brown Mason*. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 377. \$4.00.)

DR. Mason has indeed chosen the opportune moment for publication of *The Danzig Dilemma*. Not only does it come when there is a completed chapter in the history of Danzig and the Corridor and in the Free City experiment but also at a time when it can be useful as a guide to the peacemakers of World War II, as they draw on the experience of the past for workable solutions to similar contested and vital areas, notably Trieste. Dr. Mason's handling of the complicated mass of

documentary material—the League of Nations publications, the opinions of the World Court, the high commissioners' decisions, and the pertinent treaties and agreements represents a job well done in itself. The appendix, which includes several of these treaties, high commissioners' decisions, together with the excellent bibliography, and the text, annotated and footnoted in true scholarly manner, furnish a ready and easy reference for these documents.

Particularly interesting is Dr. Mason's chapter on the legal aspects of the status of the Free City, that is, as a state in international law, the limitations on its sovereignty, the conduct of its foreign relations by Poland, and its threefold relationship to the League. As the international position of Danzig was unprecedented and was the core of the friction over every minor issue, constantly clouding relations of the two states and jeopardizing the success of the experiment, Dr. Mason's thorough and clear-sighted discussion of this aspect of Danzig's case is extremely valuable. In fact, he is quite right in saying that if a precise definition of Danzig's legal position could have been worked out in the beginning much of the bitter disputation would have been avoided and a better atmosphere could have prevailed under which economic problems, not political ambitions, would have been paramount. If there are to be other internationalized or free areas in the new peace settlements, the peacemakers could readily draw a lesson on this score from the Danzig settlement, and make clear in the terms of the treaty just where sovereignty lies.

Readers will undoubtedly find Dr. Mason's evaluation of the Free City experiment of considerable current interest. While praising the harbor board as a workable organ and pointing out the success of the international machinery provided for the handling of differences and disputes, especially the office of high commissioner, he makes apparent at the same time the weaknesses of the Free City setup, the duplication of efforts, the high expenses to Danzig, the inevitable confusion and red tape, and the years of controversy which it took to translate myriad details into settled patterns.

Particularly significant in Dr. Mason's evaluation is his discussion of the effectiveness of the League in its role as guarantor and protector of the Free City. For its status was, in the final analysis, only as strong as the international organization backing it, and its final success depended on the total international outlook, not on the skill or thoroughness with which the details of the free area were worked out. As Dr. Mason concludes: "The Free City of Danzig would not have lasted 20 years without a clash of arms if there had been no special League of Nations machinery for the final and authoritative settlement of disputes between Danzig and Poland." Dr. Mason shows how, as the League became weak, the Nazis were able to accomplish their ends in the Free City, how the League failed in its obligation to guarantee the democratic provisions of the constitution, how it was unable to afford protection to the Free City, and how even its function as adjudicator and mediator of disputes fell into disuse as larger international con-

siderations inclined both parties to use direct negotiation. Danzig as a free city was never directly a cause of an armed clash but remained a sore spot or irritation to the peace, finally forgotten in the inevitable clash of larger international ambitions with bigger stakes. Just as the existence of Danzig as a free city was buried by the upheaval of Nazidom, and its free status doomed by the death of the League, so the plan for a free area of Trieste or any other area will remain effective only as long as the United Nations remains strong.

The author, however, does not conclude necessarily that the Free City of Danzig was a sorry experiment which should not be repeated. In fact, he feels that even for Danzig in 1919 the free city solution was "better than either of the crude alternatives" which were considered. As for the future, he states only that the Danzig experience should be studied, pondered, and recalled if similar problems need to be effectively dealt with. In view of the fact that some prominent writers, notably Sumner Welles, feel that the experience of the past twenty-seven years has shown conclusively that such schemes for free areas do not make for peace, readers would find an additional interest in some over-all conclusion from one who has so thoroughly investigated the question and produced such a comprehensive and excellent study.

Scarsdale, New York

CATHERINE SNELL CRARY

SYRIA AND LEBANON: A POLITICAL ESSAY. By *A. H. Hourani*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. x, 402. \$5.00.)

EAST and West meet in this book by an author who is both Arab and Englishman, for Mr. Hourani is the son of Christian Syrian parents but was born and educated in England. He writes with British restraint and objectivity, and his understanding of the Arab world is that of one who has roots deep in its soil. His book is a study of the events and influences which have been disturbing and transforming Syria and Lebanon, where the problems of adjustment between traditional Near Eastern ideas and practices and those of the West are abundantly illustrated.

The narrative of events, very concise for the period before 1918, becomes increasingly detailed as it approaches the present day. A postscript brings the story down to April, 1945, and an appendix of seventy-nine pages provides the texts of sixteen important official documents. An otherwise admirable section on permanent geographic factors is inadequately illustrated by five black-and-white maps. Eleven pages of index and a selective bibliography are peculiarly valuable in a study treating so wide a range of topics as this. Mr. Hourani's selection of facts and allocation of emphasis can be criticized, but he has written a clear and well-balanced narrative, silhouetting it against the background of a penetrating and discriminating discussion of intellectual and social influences.

This discussion, which occupies nearly a third of the volume, is focused on Westernization, the central problem of the contemporary East. The problem is not new but has been growing ever since men in the Orient first began to realize that their traditional organizations and cultures could not compete successfully with those of the West. Identifying their age-old consciousness of difference from other peoples with Western nationalism, the Arabs borrowed its forms and vocabulary for defense against Ottoman assimilationism and later European imperialism. Western scholars recognized the familiar forms and words but usually did not comprehend what was going on within the minds of Near Easterners who were unable to sort out their own thoughts and feelings. It was not easy to penetrate the inner recesses of societies traditionally proud and xenophobic to observe the confusion and contradiction which prevailed and still prevails in thought and in social relations. But Mr. Hourani has now succeeded in showing that modern scholarship can make clear much that has been hidden by an almost impenetrable curtain of difference in language, custom, and religion. The discussion of fundamental intellectual and social influences deserves a whole volume but is highly valuable even in this abbreviated form, which admittedly underemphasizes economic matters.

Mr. Hourani has presented the facts of recent Syrian and Lebanese history and has written a masterly analysis of the forces which have molded this history and are now molding events throughout the much wider area of the Arab world. He deserves well both of West and East for describing and making comprehensible the play of forces in an area where ideas and cultures are no less in competition than the interests of the Great Powers.

Princeton University

WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR.

THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION. By *Corliss Lamont*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1946. Pp. viii, 229. \$3.00.)

PARTLY to provide a convenient and informative account in English of the nationalities of the Soviet Union, and partly to hold up Soviet policy as a model for the treatment of minorities in other lands, Mr. Lamont has written this book. Roughly three fourths of the space is devoted to a survey of the peoples comprising the Union, their habitat and ethnography, their culture and progress, while the remainder is given over to an exposition of the principles and methods adopted by the Soviet regime in dealing with minority groups. The survey is ably handled, both from the scholarly and the literary standpoints—the narrative never becomes tedious despite the wealth of information contained within modest allotments of space. The wide scope of the assignment has not been purchased at the price of accuracy, and misstatements or misprints such as the one ascribing the persecution of Shevchenko to Nicholas II are of rare occurrence.

The analysis of the national structure of the Soviet Union likewise is well done, but the author's appraisal of the Soviet minorities policy is open to exception on

the grounds of excessive optimism. There is a darker side over which he glides too easily. Though this minorities policy has been enlightened when things were going smoothly, it can be comparably harsh when results fall short of expectations. Entire populations have recently been uprooted and cast on some distant landscape, where their fate is concealed from the eye but certainly not from the imagination. And yet the abolition of the German Volga, the Chechen-Ingush, the Kalmyk, and the Crimean Tatar autonomous republics attests not so much to the failure of generous treatment as to the short temper of the Soviet government, which has not found enough patience to make its own policy work. Those who would eradicate national animosities must truly be armed with the patience of Job. After all, it was not to be expected that the Crimean Tatars, with centuries of animosity towards Russia behind them, could suddenly be conciliated within the brief span of twenty-five years. Again, the liberty conceded on one front may, in effect, be cancelled on another: thus the very broad concessions to Ukrainian nationalism noted by Mr. Lamont were accompanied by very violent interference with the economic existence of the Ukrainian peasantry, about which he has nothing to say. His study reveals no essential difference between Lenin and Stalin in their treatment of the nationalities problem; yet it is difficult, indeed, to imagine Lenin resorting to the transplantation of peoples or grasping for the Kars-Ardahan district in the Caucasus.

Mr. Lamont's estimate of Soviet policy is one point of view; the value of his survey remains. There are maps and a bibliography, but of greater merit are the illustrations of national types and a welcome appendix containing in tabular form the latest statistics on the nationalities of the Soviet Union.

University of Texas

OLIVER H. RADKEY

STALIN: AN APPRAISAL OF THE MAN AND HIS INFLUENCE. By *Leon Trotsky*. Edited and Translated from the Russian by *Charles Malamuth*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1946. Pp. xv, 516. \$5.00.)

WHEN Trotsky was mortally wounded by an assassin on August 20, 1940, he had written the first seven chapters of the Russian original of his Stalin biography and "checked in the English translation the first six chapters and the appendix" (on "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution"). The first seven chapters cover Stalin's life up to 1918. The remainder of the book, describing Stalin's career under the Soviet regime, his rise to dictatorial power, the purges, etc., is made up from notes left by Trotsky. "Extensive interpolations," marked as such, have been inserted by the editor and translator, Charles Malamuth. A chronological guide, lists of Stalin's aliases and pseudonyms, of Russian Communist party congresses, of books and pamphlets by Leon Trotsky available in English, a glossary and an index are added. But the editorial job is not very good. Identification of the books and articles quoted by Trotsky should have been made. For example, Trotsky often mentions S. Dmitrievsky, but only a few readers will know that he refers to the

biography of Stalin by this former Soviet diplomat, which was published in 1932 in Berlin.

Trotsky wrote his book as an indictment of his victorious adversary, although as a believer in necessary trends he expresses again and again his opinion that Stalin is not a leader with gifts but only a typical exponent of general developments. "Stalin took possession of power, not with the aid of personal qualities, but with the aid of an impersonal machine. And it was not he who created the machine but the machine that created him." His rise and his amoralism are products of our epoch of transition between "the bourgeois-capitalistic world which is suffering agony and that new world which is going to replace it." But despite the attempt to contrast the personal insignificance of Stalin with Stalin's immense objective role, Trotsky emphasizes that he writes as a historian and sociologist respectful of facts.

It is, of course, impossible to say how the book would have looked if Trotsky had found time to complete it, but the present fragments show clearly the general conceptions and the methods used by the former Soviet Commissar of War; therefore, it can be said that even in its final form, Trotsky's book would not have superseded B. Souvarine's *Stalin* (French edition with a very useful bibliographical appendix, 1936; American translation, 1939). Trotsky describes with particular attention Stalin's youth, using as a main source Iremashvili's *Stalin und die Tragoedie Georgiens* (Berlin, 1932). Souvarine has correctly questioned the reliability of this Georgian who knew Stalin in the seminary of Tiflis. Tiresomely, Trotsky emphasizes that Stalin became known even among Bolsheviks only very late, that he did not play any role in the revolution of 1905, that the stories of his decisive influence in the Caucasian socialist movement were manufactured after his rise to dictatorial power. (By the way, Beria, influential member of the Politburo and for years head of the Secret Police as Commissar of Internal Affairs, is one of these rewriters of history *ad maiorem gloriam* of Stalin.) Even more often he repeats that Stalin's role in 1917, and as long as Lenin was in good health, was not too important. But this analysis is far from being conclusive. Trotsky must admit that Lenin imposed Stalin in 1912 as a member on the Central Committee, the leading board of the party, and he must admit, too, that despite some initial disagreements Stalin enjoyed the particular confidence of Lenin during the critical months before the October Revolution of 1917. On the other hand, Trotsky shows conclusively that Soviet historiography has become an arsenal of falsifications constructed to defend and propagandize Stalin's regime: Trotsky proves that he and not Stalin played a decisive role in carrying out the ouster of the provisional government; he also shows that Stalin's role during the civil war is now completely misrepresented by Soviet writers—this misrepresentation started with the downfall of Trotsky and steadily increased during the years of Stalin's power.

Trotsky tries to prove that Stalin is a machine politician without ideas and

without scruples. From the beginning of his career he was an exponent of party functionaries isolated from the masses. He was moderately useful when controlled and utilized by Lenin, but he became the betrayer of the Revolution as the enthusiasm of the first years after October, 1917, died away, and as the party machine, no longer an instrument in the hands of leaders in real contact with the proletarian masses, became an end in itself. Apparently Trotsky regards Stalin's victory as unavoidable: for everything depends upon favorable revolutionary situations and a corresponding mass spirit—the Bolshevik party, like everything human, was destined to die, after having accomplished a marvelous work. Therefore, party bureaucrats without ideas, ambitious only to enjoy the advantages of power and accustomed to repeating the traditional terminology without being able to understand its meaning and to keep it in contact with real life, necessarily won the upper hand. And Stalin is the mediocrity who reflects most clearly this trend of decay and opportunism.

Trotsky tries desperately to show that Stalin's career has nothing to do with the one-party dictatorship and the iron discipline inside the party as created by Lenin. As long as Lenin, and Trotsky with him, ruled, the party was an exponent of the masses. Under Stalin the situation changed radically. But it remains a mystery how this change could have occurred, if it not had been helped by the elimination of all opposition and all freedom of public opinion which took place immediately after the October Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky. The accusations of Trotsky against Stalin have been made against Lenin since the split during the Social-Democrat Congress of 1903 which brought into being the Bolshevik party. Lenin was accused of using amoral means if they were considered useful for Bolshevik power; but he did not have to exterminate his real and potential opponents inside the party because, as its founder and the leader under whom it had come into power, he enjoyed an almost undisputed authority. Stalin was only one of several underleaders who had to fight for his authority and had to maintain it against bitter challenges. The purges were the results of Lenin's party conception. It was Lenin who, during the tenth party congress in 1921, had characterized opposition groups inside the party as reflecting the undermining work of class adversaries. Such a justification was used by Stalin to exterminate his opponents.

There are some interesting remarks on leading figures of the Bolshevik regime. But they do not add much to our knowledge. Zinoviev and Kamenev appear as weak politicians, afraid to take risks, and eager to join the winning side. First they join Stalin in a common fight against the danger of Trotsky's becoming the heir of Lenin. Later, they are dropped by Stalin who has meanwhile organized his party machine, and they then conclude an alliance with Trotsky. But their submission to Stalin's authority after they observe the defeat of Trotsky fails to prevent their execution as the first prominent victims of the great purge (1936–38).

Owing to wartime conditions, the scheduled publication of Trotsky's book in 1941 was postponed. The illustrations may be regarded as the most valuable part

of this disappointing work, which, despite some brilliant moments, does not measure up to the best that Trotsky has written.

Notre Dame University

WALDEMAR GURIAN

Far Eastern History

THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA. By *Jawaharlal Nehru*. (New York: John Day Company. 1946. Pp. xi, 595. \$5.00.)

THE MAHATMA AND THE WORLD. By *Krishnalal Shridharani*. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1946. Pp. xviii, 247. \$3.50.)

JAWAHARLAL Nehru spent most of the war years serving two terms of political imprisonment. As a free man with authority to act, he would undoubtedly have helped the Allied cause. However, he made use of his enforced leisure, reading intensively about India and finally writing *The Discovery of India*, his most thoughtful book to date and the one most valuable to Western readers. We all know that the few years of freedom allowed him during his effective adult life have been well spent. Today as vice-president of the viceroy's executive council he stands on the threshold of a free India, in which he can devote his full energies to the difficult tasks ahead.

The Discovery of India is an appreciation of history, not a formal exposition of events and institutions. It begins and ends with recent events and the author's relation to them. While some of the material has appeared in his other books and essays, it is aptly and ingenuously repeated here.

Leading the reader from the present into the past, Nehru interprets himself and his political actions. His approach is remarkably free of bitterness, though it rips away shambling lies cleanly and without hesitation. Flaws in some Western thinking on India are clearly exposed, such as the assertions that East is East and West is West, that India never was a nation, and that her struggle for nationalism is foolish. "Those who tell us so seem to imagine that true internationalism would triumph if we agreed to remain as junior partners in the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations. They do not appear to realize that this particular type of so-called internationalism is only an extension of a narrow British nationalism, which could not have appealed to us even if the logical consequence of Anglo-Indian history had not utterly rooted out its possibility from our minds."

The author's account of Indian history begins with the prehistoric and sweeps through to the present. It is authentic interpretation. Superficialities occasionally appear but seem hardly more than the impatience of a man impressed with the scope of his subject. As the Mogul Empire crumbles, Nehru enters with relish upon the story of British rule and the history of the modern nationalist movement. He analyses the political developments of the present century as he did not

in his autobiography, so that the Western reader need not bring to this, his latest work, any knowledge of the problems which are dealt with. He explains the communal problem and succinctly sums up Mr. Jinnah with the words "all attempts to understand his positive aspect fail, and one cannot come to grips with it."

Into the pattern of historical account Nehru weaves his appreciation of India's cultural legacy and evaluates its relation to the present national and international scene. He does not shrink from the use of the surgeon's probe, but strongly points out what has been wrong with Indians, and their "static" and "woolly" position in the modern social and scientific plane. His estimation of the value of India's past thinking is valid and may well be considered by all people.

The Discovery of India, like all Nehru's writing, is distinguished for the high quality of its prose. And, like his autobiography, it has a rare exciting unity, the reflection of a rich, active, and integrated personality who continues to grow. This latest work will not be used as a reference book or as a textbook, but it will be indispensable to the Western student of Indian history as a companion to his formal studies. The general reader approaching the subject for the first time could not find a better book.

Another great leader of India has been the concern of Krishnalal Shridharani. The serious reader wishing to learn about Gandhi would do better to go directly to the Mahatma's own writings or to those of C. F. Andrews than to *The Mahatma and the World*. The author of this book is a young Indian nationalist who has spent some years in this country going to school, writing, and lecturing. He has here a comparatively wide popular audience, and it is obviously for a popular American audience that his book on Gandhi is written. It is not a biography. The author selects certain episodes from Gandhi's life, beginning with his career in South Africa, and uses them dramatically as illustrations of his personality. Fortunately he quotes him often. He gives also a description of Gandhi's famous ashram, or hermitage, discusses and evaluates his views on art, education, and economics, writes a woefully incomplete chapter on the "communal triangle," and makes some remarks on India's economic relation to the world.

Shridharani is an ardent and sincere admirer of Gandhi, and at the same time a sincere critic. He has not in this book, however, given us an integrated biography or interpretation. It is a very miscellaneous treatment of the Mahatma, punctuated by the author's own views on a generously wide variety of subjects. And it is the feeling of this reviewer that the book is at unnecessary pains to adapt an Indian subject to the American reader.

Library of Congress

HORACE I. POLEMAN

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN THE FAR EAST: A STUDY IN
DIPLOMACY AND POWER POLITICS, 1895-1914. By *Edward H.
Zabriskie*, Associate Professor of History and International Relations, Univer-

sity of Newark. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 226. \$3.50.)

This monograph treats the period of two decades of Russo-American relations in the Far East in seven chapters and includes a number of documents in the appendix, three of which have been translated from published Russian sources.

The volume is a study almost strictly limited to political diplomatic relations. The author has for the most part used well-known sources and monographs, especially in English, Russian, and German. In certain phases of his study, he has used new, unpublished materials from American archives or collections.

On the whole the author has succeeded, within the limitations indicated, in documenting the analysis more fully than any previous writer. His conclusions are not new, but they stand out more clearly, especially Theodore Roosevelt's policy of balance of power in Europe and Asia, so far as it was applied here to Asia. In a footnote on the last page of the text he writes: "In the light of the evidence, it would seem to the author that whenever the United States has pursued an aggressive Far Eastern policy, the initiative, in the main, has come not from financial groups but from the State Department and Administration." There is no explanation of this conclusion. What does it mean in American foreign policy?

Although the subtitle indicates that this is a study in "power politics" (and what diplomacy is not?), the author passes by the magnificent opportunity to develop the geographic, economic, and strategic factors in the scene, which helped to create the foreign policies of both Russia and the United States regarding the Far East. The documents constantly hint and emphasize these factors, but they are not digested and co-ordinated and made to stand out in the text. Out of them we now know there emerged the Russian security zone policy to prevent any other power from dominating Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Sinkiang. Likewise, there gradually emerged an American security policy on the Pacific and in China as a whole, which opposes control in these regions by a single power, beginning as it does with the Open Door with its preponderantly economic aspects and culminating slightly beyond this period in American opposition to the Japanese demands on China, in our pressure on China to enter the first World War, and in the Siberian expedition. To have worked this out more fully might have led the author to see the relations of the two powers as a whole and to understand them more objectively.

The use of Russian by the author is peculiar, if not temperamental. Either the author's academic mentor or the University of Pennsylvania Press should have checked on the translations from the Russian, the transliterations, the spelling of Russian names, and the differences between the Old Style and the New Style calendar. To cite and explain these errors, most of which could easily be avoided, would take an extra page or two. Careful scholars using the quotations or references will wish to verify them. To take a few illustrations, parts of the translations

of Russian titles or documents on pages 27, 31, 73, 178, 193, 200, and 201 should be gone over carefully. They are either inaccurate or too free. The transliterations are inconsistent. The transliteration of words ending in *iia* or *iya* should be checked for consistency, as well as those in which the author uses the French *j* for the usual *zh* as "Birjevie" (p. 220) and "Jeleznaya" (p. 35 n. 79). "Shtaty" is spelled "Stati" (p. 46 n. 10; p. 193n.) and "Shtati" (p. 215). "Epokhu" is spelled "Epoche" (p. 25 n. 39). "Dvukh" is twice given as "Dvoukh" (p. 194n., and p. 216). "Imperialisticheskoy" (p. 219) is "Imperialisticheskoy" (p. 3 n. 13). "Dokumentov" (p. 114 n. 66) becomes incorrectly "Documentov" (p. 116 n. 78). So prominent a person as Kokovtsev is given correctly once (p. 154), but twice it is "Kokovtzev" on pages 149, 150. "Tiutcheva" and "Tyutcheva" are found on the same page (194). Mistakes in the calendar are to be seen on pages 34 (n. 71) and 35 (n. 81). It is to be regretted that consistency and accuracy in these matters are not to be found among the author's virtues, but he will wish to revise these and many other errors for a second edition.

University of California

ROBERT J. KERNER

CHINA AND AMERICA: THE STORY OF THEIR RELATIONS SINCE 1784. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 277. \$2.75.)

THIS is the best brief survey which has yet appeared on the history of American policy toward China and should fill an immediate need, both for students and for casual readers.

Professor Dulles has a happy faculty of assimilating the best work of others, keeping in touch with source materials himself, and presenting a critical account in a colorful manner. He begins with the sailing of the *Empress of China* in 1784 and concludes with the President's policy statement of last December 15, by which time American planes had become as common over Chinese villages as American clippers used to be in the treaty ports. Within this span he devotes attention chiefly to the American side of Chinese-American relations. Indeed, the book could be titled more correctly the story of American attitudes, activities, and policies toward China. This one-sidedness is inherent in the fact that the Chinese side of the story has not yet been worked out even by Chinese historians; fortunately the author keeps the American public in the central role and leaves China's many problems in the wings.

Professor Dulles indicates how the China trade developed hand in hand with our westward movement, inspired constantly by great expectations which seldom were justified. Thus Anson Burlingame, like more recent representatives of China, was carried away by his own oratory before receptive American audiences. While business circles in 1898 saw the Philippines as a means to combat European spheres in China, the American brand of imperialism generally was more diplomatic than

commercial in motivation. "The dollar diplomacy of the Taft era neither promoted American interests . . . nor succeeded in safeguarding those of China." In this full landscape there is a valuable chapter on Chinese exclusion from California, where "the United States found itself doing just what it had condemned China for doing," excluding the unassimilable foreigner. Another useful chapter summarizes the growth of American interest in China during the 1920's. American missionary work in China, however, is hardly touched upon.

One impressive feature of this book is its attention throughout to American press and magazine opinion, the influence of which was so apparent in Chungking when the successive articles of Buck, Baldwin, and Bisson reached there in 1943, although as Professor Dulles says, "These articles did not make very much impression on the American public . . . in the face of the great desire to believe the best of China and of her National government." He quotes a *Life* editorial of 1944 which declared that "under no circumstances would the American people ever wish to be embroiled with the Soviet Union in a struggle [over China] in which they would feel politically on the wrong side," an interesting reminder.

In one section on Humphrey Marshall's much overrated support of the imperial government at Shanghai in 1853-1854, the author like other American writers has been grossly led astray by reliance upon Marshall's dispatches, which were ignorantly anti-British (pp. 51-53). Actually, Marshall's suspicious vacillation impeded British efforts to support the status quo.

It is also high time for someone to bring out the fact that the Englishman, A. E. Hippisley, who suggested the Open Door notes to Hay and Rockhill (pp. 108-109), was not only from the Chinese customs but had been Sir Robert Hart's confidential secretary for many years. Eventual study of Hart's papers should establish his paternity of the Open Door provisions without much question; in 1898 he had already spent forty years getting the door open.

Unlike its companion volume, *The Road to Teheran: The Story of Russia and America, 1781-1943*, the present book, although it has a bibliographical list, lacks critical notes by chapters.

Harvard University

J. K. FAIRBANK

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1931. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication No. 2476.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1946. Pp. cviii, 1091. \$2.75.)

THIS volume goes far beyond the League reports, the Lytton Commission report, and the 1943 collection entitled *Foreign Relations, Japan, 1931-1941* (I, 1-75). The able editor, Dr. John Gilbert Reid, has arranged the documents into three main chapters by subject, and within these chapters by chronology.

Such an arrangement gives the impression of an ironical play in three acts

composed by a post-atomic Olympian. Act I, the first two thirds of the book, deals *in medias res* with the precipitation of the Far Eastern crisis by Japan's aggression in Manchuria. Here the policy that emerges from our multiple representations is based on our (often unwilling) assumption that Japan was infringing upon China's national sovereignty. Act II, China, tells of extraterritorial privilege, the imposition by China of taxes "considered unfair to American trade" (p. 981), and the retention in China of United States armed forces (p. 1013). Here China is *not* a sovereign state. Act III returns to Japan, though the papers and conversations pre-date the Mukden incident. Devoted chiefly to the Pangborn-Herndon flight, they contain a telegram from Ambassador Forbes, August 10, 1931, officially admitting that "Herndon and Pangborn landed in Japan, August 7th, without permit after flying over several fortified zones taking moving pictures on the way" (p. 1048). Five days later Forbes cabled, "I should have stated that their camera and films were confiscated" (p. 1049). This act shows us what we might expect from a Far Eastern state that does have sovereignty and behaves accordingly.

In the background material here we can trace for the first time the relations between Japan and the United States in the light of our simultaneous discussions with third powers and with the League of Nations. Impressive and solemn though this recording of the growth in Stimson's mind of the doctrine of nonrecognition is, nevertheless there is a wraith-like quality to it. Side by side with Shaw's account (p. 460) from Paris of Sir John Simon's hardheaded sense, for example, it appears as a disembodied ghost. Sir John tentatively suggested compliance with Japan's fifth demand that the Chinese in Manchuria abide by the 1915 treaty with Japan. The Chinese government, however, had always contended that they had signed the treaty under duress. Simultaneously we were insisting (p. 982) that China abide by treaties with us, entered into by China in 1844 and 1901—are we to suppose?—from motives of pure good will and mutual advantage. To read these documents relating to the origins of World War II is to be struck with the inadequacy of a merely moral insistence upon treaties in the face of an actual capacity for independent action by any one nation who has the arms to enforce what it believes to be to its advantage, and can walk out on or "veto" with impunity any internationally organized body that attempts to restrain it against its will.

Yet one cannot help wondering whether in our political mores there is a connection between our insistence without reference to reality upon treaties, on the one hand, and, on the other, our prohibition-laws and blind pigs, our emasculated O.P.A. acts and black markets, our passionately stated belief in freedom and what actually exists as freedom even here in the United States.

An analytical table of contents and an excellent index add to the usefulness of the volume.

University of Michigan

FRANK LIVINGSTONE HUNTLEY

American History

THE CAMBRIDGE PRESS, 1638-1692: A REEXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE BAY PSALM BOOK AND THE ELIOT INDIAN BIBLE AS WELL AS OTHER CONTEMPORARY BOOKS AND PEOPLE. By *George Parker Winship*, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1945. Pp. ix, 385. \$5.00.)

WHEN the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing was celebrated in 1940, jointly with the four hundredth anniversary of printing in the New World, and the three hundredth in the British colonies in America, the confusion resulting from few and scattered documents, allowing of various interpretations and much speculation, became freshly apparent. The case of Steven Day and the Cambridge Press was not much clearer than that of Gutenberg.

The definitive study of this first printing press in English-speaking America is at last before us in all its amplitude. It is the more impressive for being the work of a distinguished historian, bibliographer, librarian, and printer. As we might expect he writes with authority, exactitude, and precision as to practical minutiae. He writes also with wit, grace, imagination, and vision. For Mr. Winship has viewed the early American scene for fifty years, gathering facts and pursuing fancies for this book, during which time he has served as librarian of the notable John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, home of Richard Mather's own copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*, and as assistant librarian at Harvard College, with whose fortunes those of the press were so closely linked.

This illuminating account presents all the documents available to date, enlarging the body of facts to a considerable extent, and introducing many interesting new speculations. The complexities of the workings of our first printing press are too great to permit of discussion in the compass of a brief review. Students of colonial printing have already avidly seized upon this new narrative concerned with all the controversy surrounding the printing house. Historians will find the book enlightening for other reasons.

The first printing press in British America was established just as "the Bay Colony was feeling the pinch of the worst depression that has yet been survived." With this sound-off, Mr. Winship proceeds to give far more than a scholarly, detailed account of the founding of the press, the business records, and the individual products which were issued from it. Indeed the workings of the press are explained with painstaking care, but against a rich background of economic, theological, and literary history. Not only the depression of 1640 and its succeeding crime wave of 1642 but also the elaborate cost-plus contract under which Eliot's Indian Bible was printed, and the still familiar and persistent Boston problem of censorship are a part of the vivid picture.

The theological problems connected with antipedobaptism, the platform of church discipline, the half-way covenant, and the numerous catechisms designed to ensure orthodoxy in the old and the young may seem less vital to the twentieth century mind. But the student of the period will welcome the commentary on synod politics, the bitter theological controversies, and the gradual approach towards a liberalism, reaching a point in 1664 which Mr. Winship calls "an interpretation of the deeper meaning of Christianity that is only tentatively accepted with reservations in 1945."

The *Bay Psalm Book*, never regarded as a typographical masterpiece, has a real claim to fame as the first book printed in English America. Mr. Winship considers it further as the first New England translation of the Psalms and gives space in the body of his book to its authorship and literary style. Three appendixes give a comparison of the texts of the 1640 edition and the revised version of 1648. The translation of the Bible into the Indian language is discussed in its proper setting in the great missionary movement inaugurated in the mother country and emerges as a triumph in the face of the difficult relations between John Eliot, apostle to the Indians, and the Corporation for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England.

There are still lacunae in the annals of this famous press. Possibly the missing copy of the *Freeman's Oath*, now lost in the limbo of the British Museum, will turn up and prove to be the 1639 issue from the Cambridge Press. If so its recovery will be no more miraculous than that of the unique copy of the first body of Laws, found in a volume of tracts in the library of the mayor of Rye, England, and now reposing in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Whatever new material comes to light will more than likely serve only to turn some of Mr. Winship's fancies into facts.

Wellesley College

HANNAH DUSTIN FRENCH

THE BRITISH EMPIRE BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume VI, THE GREAT WAR FOR THE EMPIRE: THE YEARS OF DEFEAT, 1754-1757. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*, Professor of History and Head of the Department of History and Government, Lehigh University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xxxvii, 426, xxxviii. \$7.50.)

THIS, the sixth volume of Professor Gipson's monumental descriptive history of *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, is a narrative of the events leading to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in America, or, rather, of the first three years of hostilities that took place prior to the actual declaration of war—the years which the author calls "the years of defeat." The volume opens—after an introduction that is of particular interest—with Washington's tragic expedition to the Ohio to forestall the French in 1754; it furnishes some of the best extant narratives of Braddock's campaign, of Boscawen's naval interception of the French

reinforcements to Canada, of the expeditions against Niagara and Crown Point, and, especially, of the hostilities in Acadia that culminated in the expulsion of the Acadians. It closes with a series of chapters on the "diplomatic revolution" and the outbreak of hostilities in Europe and around the world that took place with the seizure of Minorca by the French.

Professor Gipson has based his history strictly upon original material emanating from the period covered, and the sheer quantity of the sources he has obviously examined is staggering. Furthermore, the book is written in excellent literary style; and the pageant described is depicted upon a canvas that is sufficiently large to permit of a highly gratifying amount of detail. One is inclined to predict that this work may well prove to be one of the most distinguished monuments of creative writing produced by this generation of historians.

That is not to say, however, that there can be no difference of opinion with Professor Gipson as to the interpretation of the events he describes. Quite the contrary, in fact. For he starts out with the express intention of correcting some old errors in the American understanding of the Seven Years' War in America. As he puts it:

In the present work one of the motives that dictated the selection of topics and space allotted to each of these has been a desire to emphasize certain important aspects of the history of this conflict that have been, it would seem, especially subject to popular misconceptions and even to serious misinterpretations on the part of many historians and of others who are not [p. ix].

More specifically, those "popular misconceptions" include the black legend that grew up about the expulsion of the Acadians, and, even more important, the profound misconception which, stemming from the unstable mind of Thomas Paine, wrote George II down in history as a "bad ruler who had dragged his American subjects away from their happy, peaceful occupations to fight his battles for him" (p. 7), and that "Americans had been cursed by their connections with Great Britain especially in time of war . . ." (p. 9).

That these misconceptions, which have indeed been real enough in American historiography, should be corrected few American historians of this generation would deny. But Professor Gipson exposes himself to the accusation that he bends over backward in order to do it.

For in his effort to correct old misconceptions he runs perilously close to creating new ones, such as that the Seven Years' War in America was fought selflessly and generously by Great Britain solely upon the basis of "the concept that wherever a Briton was living under the Cross of St. George, he was thereby entitled to its protection against any foreign power, whatever might be the cost to the mother country" (p. 17). Or that the British ministry and Parliament adopted "without hesitation" a line of action which "demanded a decisive break with the cautious canons of orthodox Seventeenth-century mercantilism" (p. 16). It would

be extremely difficult to prove that this war "was really begun by the French" (p. 9). It seems probable, too, that Professor Gipson seriously errs when he discounts as heavily as he does the importance of the expansion of population in the British colonies as one of the fundamental causes of the conflict in North America, on the one hand, and the century-old armed rivalry of those two rapacious empires in Europe, Asia, and Africa, as well as in America, as perhaps the major cause, on the other.

The fact probably is that this was an imperialistic war for room to expand all around the world, and the empire that was expanding most rapidly and most powerfully at the moment was that of England. For the British, indeed, it was a war that was at once offensive and defensive—to win India and to protect Minorca, to win the Ohio Valley and to protect Hanover; but its defensive aspects were probably secondary in importance, in the minds of the British, to its aggressive aspects. The French empire was growing, to be sure, but at nothing like the rate at which the British holdings were expanding. As the marquis de la Galissonnière clearly saw, the expansion of the population of the British colonies in North America would inevitably rob France of its possessions in the interior of the continent unless France could hold the line, either by increasing its own colonial population or by building a powerful line of forts along the mutually accepted frontier, or by both. A reading of the French archives of the period certainly shows a mood among French leaders that was predominantly, if not entirely, defensive rather than aggressive. The French, in fact, were on the defensive everywhere. And, far from moving the entire empire and its vast diplomatic and military machinery merely to defend a few Britons in Acadia or in the Ohio Valley, Britain was fighting to protect Britain and British interests primarily and colonial interests only secondarily.

As far as the Ohio Valley was concerned, and insofar as the status of international law at that time could be said to be clear on the point, it is the conviction of this reviewer that the French title to the Ohio, Great Lakes, and St. Lawrence drainage basins was much better than that of the British, while the reverse was true in Acadia. The British themselves, in fact, had effectively acquiesced in this, even—at least by implication—as late as the diplomatic negotiations of 1750-1755.

Professor Gipson's mood, devoted as he is to the ideal of correcting past error, betrays him into a sort of *apologia* for Great Britain. This may be due to the fact that his sources, extensive as they are, are almost without exception British official, or "Tory," in character, such as reports and letters of royal governors, military commanders, and the group of American imperialists headed by such men as William Livingston, Archibald Kennedy, and others. References to French sources are extremely rare. On the other side, documents fully representative of the attitude of the colonial assemblies and sincere colonial isolationists appear rarely, if at all, and the author has scarce patience or sympathy with the isolationism of the Quakers of Pennsylvania. Nor does he give any attention to that army of American

preachers who used all their eloquence and literary fervor to whip up the patriotic ardor of the Americans in the service of their king—this very same George II—and in defense of their “land of liberty,” British America.

A difference of opinion relative to the over-all mood in the interpretation of events, however, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that this is both a superb piece of history writing and a most salutary corrective to the ancient anti-British bias that sprang from the brain of Tom Paine and was so damagingly propagated by George Bancroft. If Professor Gipson exaggerates a little the disinterested generosity of Mother England toward her wayward offspring, we may be sure that his narrative is sound and brilliantly related. This volume is the sort of history that might have been written by a Tory imperialist like William Shirley—whom, by the way, the author greatly admires. Yet it is a fine achievement. It may be written from a “Tory” point of view; but it is a significant contribution to the historiography of our time.

Stanford University

MAX SAVELLE

LORD RUSSELL'S CANADIAN POLICY: A STUDY IN BRITISH HERITAGE AND COLONIAL FREEDOM. By *Oscar A. Kinchen*, Professor of History, Texas Technological College. [Texas Technological College Research Publication No. 13.] (Lubbock, Tex.: Texas Tech Press. 1945. Pp. v, 238.)

In most histories of the British Empire and Commonwealth there has been some confusion, and not infrequently a good deal of inaccuracy, concerning the part played by Lord John Russell in the establishment of “responsible government” in the North American colonies a century ago. It was on the whole not a heroic part; and since the struggle for colonial self-government produced its hero in the person of Lord Durham, anything that falls short of the heroic is likely to be disregarded or misunderstood. Historians, like other people, are not averse from simple explanations; and those few luminous pages at the end of Lord Durham's Report, in which he sets forth the plan of responsible government, which he had in large measure taken from the memorandum handed him by the Canadian reformer Robert Baldwin a few months earlier, have too often been accepted as an adequate explanation of the change in British colonial policy during these years. It has been assumed, and the idea still appears to be widely prevalent, that, once Lord Durham had defined the principle and drawn the line between those matters which might safely be left to the colonial governments and those which must be reserved to the imperial power, the application of the principle followed almost as a matter of course.

Russell's part in this evolution has frequently been neglected, and more often perhaps it has been misinterpreted. He committed what many have come to regard as the almost unpardonable offense of disagreeing with Durham on the theory of

responsible government, and of expressing his disagreement in terms which exposed him to the criticism of being a pedantic theorist, clinging to an outmoded doctrine of imperial power, and incapable of seeing the light that was so clear to Durham, Buller, Joseph Howe, and a few others. There is some truth in the criticism. Russell had about him a good deal of the pedant. He preened himself rather more than the results would warrant on his knowledge of the English constitution; and he never wearied of airing that knowledge, on the floor of the House of Commons, in dispatches from the colonial office, and through any other channel that offered. But he was more than this. He was an unusually competent administrator, an adept at mediating differences between men disposed to push their theories to extremes, a skillful leader of the House of Commons, and a genuine, if somewhat cautious, reformer. Without him, as many contemporaries testified, the Melbourne government could hardly have survived, much less achieved what actually was achieved in Canada during the two years following the publication of the Durham Report. These are the aspects of Russell's work to which Professor Kinchen gives special emphasis; and it is the principal merit of his study that it holds the balance evenly between these practical qualities and the theorizing on the nature of the imperial constitution to which others have given more prominence.

This can hardly be described as a book of surpassing interest. The detail is unlikely to appeal to any but the specialist. The writing shows unmistakable signs of haste; the proofreading is exceptionally careless; and the book has altogether an unfinished appearance that will deter many readers. But it is for all that, a useful, and on many points an illuminating, study. It supplements the work of such scholars as Professor Livingstone and Professor C. B. Martin; and it helps to round out one of the most significant chapters in the history of the British Empire. The best sections of the book are those which deal with Russell's part in the dispatch of the Durham mission, with his attitude towards the Report, and with his own administration of the colonial office during the two years when Sydenham was restoring economic and political stability in the Canadas and putting the Act of Union and the new policy which went with it into effect. Professor Kinchen is surely right in his assumption that the important practical point in the Durham Report, as it was viewed in 1839, was not responsible government, but the union of the Canadas, and the enforced submission of the French to the rule of an Anglo-Saxon majority. Durham's own statement in the House of Lords could have been quoted in support of this view; and on this, as on almost every other question, excepting only the theory of responsible government, Russell and Durham appear to have been in almost complete agreement.

Russell was essentially a man of the middle way. For some years before he took any active interest in the colonial problem, he had been attempting by that method to effect some useful and sorely needed reforms in the government of Ireland; and

this experience, which Professor Kinchen does not mention, undoubtedly influenced his attitude toward the Canadian problem. Like most enthusiasts for the *via media*, he was inclined to reserve to himself the right to define what was middle and what was extreme. But he was ready to learn from experience. His mind, as Professor Kinchen has here shown, was less rigid than some of his critics have assumed; and when he became prime minister in 1846, he was not only eager to have the services of Lord Grey, with whom both he and Durham had disagreed on the question of Canadian government in 1839, but he was ready to support the famous dispatch which has usually been accepted as the formal inauguration of responsible government in the colonies.

It had not worked out as Russell had foreseen, when he and Sydenham were constructing their elaborate system for nullifying the work of the Canadian reformers and putting an end to the agitation for responsible government in its "unacceptable form." But neither had it worked out as Durham had foreseen. If he had suspected that responsible government, as interpreted and put into operation by Baldwin and La Fontaine, would prove the means of preserving the nationality of the French-Canadians, which it was his principal object to destroy, the Report might have been given a somewhat different form. It might not have been possible for a distinguished English historian at the present time to describe him as "the principal founder of the Commonwealth." In any event it is clear that something more than mere advocacy of change was required; and among English statesmen no one took a more important part than Russell in formulating the policies and furthering the measures that were to shape the colonial government of the future. He was not a heaven-sent leader; but he was perhaps the most useful man then active in English public life who could have undertaken the work. That, or something very like it, was the view of Durham himself, expressed in a letter which Professor Kinchen quotes; and the evidence that has been assembled in this volume goes far to support the judgment.

University of Toronto

D. J. McDougall

THE LAST TREK OF THE INDIANS. By *Grant Foreman*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. 382. \$4.00.)

THIS, the latest presumably, of Grant Foreman's publications, concerns itself, as do they all, with the North American Indian and, like the best of them, with that most significant feature of the United States Indian policy known technically as the "removal." For variety's sake purely—or so it seems—the author here calls it "trek," a misleading term since the two words have a quite different connotation. The latter, being borrowed from South African history, has always implied a voluntary exodus, corresponding to the westward movement of American pioneers or, possibly, to the drift of Indians across the Canadian or Mexican lines in their

great anxiety to get out of reach of those same pioneers. But Indian removal, since Jackson's time, has never been voluntary, and no one knows that better than Mr. Foreman himself.

The book before us is in two parts with twenty-one chapters in all, but only towards the end is its real purpose revealed: an attempt to account for the Indian inhabitants of Oklahoma other than those claiming historical connection with the famous group known collectively as the Five Civilized Tribes. Ten of the twenty-one chapters deal with Indians who, under the removal policy with its implications of compulsion, persuasion under duress, cajolery, and fraud, and prior to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, found lodgment in country supposedly barred to white settlement forever. They came mostly from the Old Northwest; but it is incorrect to call that migration a "last" trek. Before many years they were forced to move on again; but rarely did they go direct to Oklahoma. The final movement thither was for the majority perhaps a "last" trek. All this is of particular interest to me, inasmuch as the subject constituted my initial venture into United States Indian policy research and was published upwards of forty years ago in the Kansas Historical Society's *Collections* (Volume VIII) under the title "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Titles."

On the whole Mr. Foreman's book from start to finish is so filled with extraneous matter that its new and most interesting part is greatly obscured. The chapter headings are not mutually exclusive and occasionally have little application to content. Had he kept to the circumstances of the last removal he would have avoided many pitfalls and not have betrayed his obvious inability to relate Indian history to general United States history. He would not, for instance, have called the Continental Congress "our infant government" or have made the startling misstatement of fact appearing on page 35: "after the defeat of the British in the War of 1812." Has he never read Mahan's *Sea Power in Its Relation to the War of 1812* or the works of J. Q. Adams, who tells us that within two months of the declaration of war Madison's government was offering peace proposals? There is no excuse for our not knowing now the diplomatic background of the Treaty of Ghent. The war failed in its great objective, the conquest of Canada. The battle of New Orleans, the only victory of moment, and the work of privateers have obscured for unthinking Americans, especially those who ignore the splendid work of secondary writers, the true facts of history. Less repetitious research and more genuine study of writers who have the necessary background would go a long way to put Indian history in its right perspective and eventually force it to be incorporated into our school textbooks. We should have less of local patriotism, less of hypocrisy and complacency and understand "manifest destiny" for what it most certainly was, the American type of imperialism.

Aberdeen, Washington

ANNIE H. ABEL HENDERSON

LANDLORDS AND FARMERS IN THE HUDSON-MOHAWK REGION, 1790-1850. By *David Maldwyn Ellis*, Hamilton College. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 347. \$4.00.)

FROM time immemorial, rivers have been human highways. They make the best of boundaries, for always opposing banks confine agriculture, industry, and travel. This is true, even of small rivers, but is very striking in the case of Hudson's "Greate River" and its lordly branch, the Mohawk. Three centuries of New York history have been enacted in the valleys of these two rivers.

Dr. Ellis has well chosen the Hudson, the Mohawk, and their tributaries for a study of agriculture in one of its periods of intensive development in the state of New York. In the years under study, 1790-1850, every kind of agriculture was prospering in the twenty-one counties—at least one third of the whole state—touched by the waters of the Hudson. It was in these years that waterways, turn-pikes, and railways were being built so that the products of farms could be readily sold in city markets.

But, particularly, as the author tells us in his preface, the evolution of agriculture is traced from early settlements to the establishment of general farming and dairying, the changes passing through grain culture to sheep raising to dairying and scientific farming. Especial attention is paid to land speculators and to the anti-rent war of the 1840's.

All the subjects discussed by Dr. Ellis have been written about before, most of them many times, as the excellent bibliography in the book shows, but there is much new information presented in a fresh and pleasant way, though one must conclude, as he finishes the book, that it will please the student of history more than the general reader. If there could have been more about social conditions—the way people of the period lived, churches, new religions, camp-meetings, schools, fairs, farmers' organizations, amusements—the general reader would have found the book better reading. The disastrous effects of the War of 1812 and of the political parties just before and after the war could well have been set forth to the instruction of agricultural readers.

The book is well-written, well-edited, and the index as well as the bibliography, is excellent.

Geneva, New York

U. P. HEDRICK

MISSISSIPPI FARMERS, 1850-1860. By *Herbert Weaver*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1945. Pp. 139. \$2.50.)

THIS book is the second in a Vanderbilt University series concerned with the socio-economic aspects of American slavery. Working largely with statistics culled from unpublished census manuscripts, Dr. Weaver finds a "need for revision and re-interpretation of the social and economic history" (p. 123) of the South, and

makes some rather uninhibited efforts in this direction. His conclusions, rarely orthodox and often startling, depict a revised South that bears only a casual similarity to that described by such students as U. B. Phillips and L. C. Gray.

The author's reinterpreted ante-bellum Mississippi is a dynamic economic democracy where "the farm rather than the plantation was the basic agricultural unit" (p. 41), where "farmers, fully as prosperous as the planters, increased their properties rapidly" (p. 124-25), where the propertyless acquired land and Negroes (pp. 68, 114), where "acre for acre" the land of small farmers was comparable in quality to that of the plantations (p. 102), and where, during the fifties, small operators "self-sufficient . . . added to their property at a rate comparable to plantation expansion" (p. 125). But despite an ambitious mobilization of statistical data the author fails to establish convincingly any of these optimistic formulations.

Space allows examination of only a few of his conclusions, and then but briefly. First, Dr. Weaver's sampling is questionable. Having selected twelve Mississippi counties from diverse agricultural areas, he lumps all data together and computes a series of "unweighted" averages from which are naively drawn state-wide conclusions. A check of these counties indicates that they are not statistically representative. The contention that "the farm . . . was the basic agricultural unit" rests on incompletely processed data. While Dr. Weaver argues in support, for example, that in the rich Delta-Loess section "only 18.97 per cent of the heads of agricultural families owned fifty or more slaves" (p. 40), he fails to mention that this class mastered approximately two thirds of all Negroes, and, as such, accounted for the lion's share of the section's production. In evidence that small farmers extended their wealth at a rate similar to that of planters and that slave ownership "showed a great increase" the author has tabulated data for a large number of families that could be located in both the 1850 and 1860 census records of the same county. Thus, he distills his conclusions from the balance sheets of the more prosperous segment of the farming class—from farmers that experienced little economic compulsion or motivation to migrate. But of all non-slaveholders in Jefferson county in 1850, for example, less than fifteen per cent remained through the decade—or more specifically, over eighty-five per cent were not considered in Dr. Weaver's computation of the "poor" man's prosperity. Finally, the assertion that small farmers owned land that was as productive as that fenced off by plantations, rests on the erroneous assumption that "improved acres," as listed in the census, designated only such acres which were under cultivation, and, further, on the obtuse processing of data in Table XII of the study.

The book also suffers from a number of arithmetical errors, and even a limited check permits a considerable cataloguing of confusion. To take one example: Dr. Weaver records ninety planters in Scott County in 1860 but the census manuscript lists only twelve under that classification. Moreover, data summarized on pages 36, 39, 64-66, and 68-71 are inconsistent with information recorded elsewhere in the study.

Thus, what with dubious sampling, fallacious statistical methods, and arithmetical inaccuracies, it is difficult to discern what new insights Dr. Weaver has brought to the history of ante-bellum Mississippi. Certainly his contribution is more general than specific. The utilization of basic census data for the rewriting of Southern history is a step in a very promising direction. It is regrettable, however, that the author's efforts are scuttled by questionable techniques and untidy scholarship.

Allied Control Commission
Vienna, Austria

FABIAN LINDEN

SINGIN' YANKEES. By *Philip D. Jordan*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 305. \$3.50.)

WE have come from the mountains,
We've come down from the mountains,
Ho, we've come from the mountains
Of the old Granite State.

The words of this original Hutchinson song rang loudly and clearly from Maine to California, as the singers announced proudly their New Hampshire origin. Starting with their first tour in 1842, the Hutchinsons became familiar to millions for over half a century. They pioneered in American family singing and held their own against the numerous competitors that soon appeared.

The Hutchinsons sang simple ballads, including some originals, which were largely sentimental and moralistic, with a few comics introduced for variety. Most of the songs were arranged as quartets. With the passing of time, the majority were performed a capella. The excellence of the Hutchinsons must remain in question, since contemporary accounts were by no means in agreement. The voices of the Hutchinsons were untrained but apparently clear and pleasing, and the songs seem to have been given with conviction and vigor. In the early years the Hutchinsons drew well in such cities as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, but later these cities were less friendly. A trip to England was not an unqualified success. Apparently the greatest appeal was to those who neither had a good musical education nor pretended musical highbrowism.

The most fascinating characteristic of the Hutchinsons was their Yankee combination of moral reform earnestness with a love of dollars. They insisted that they were singing entirely to make money, and yet they embraced fervently such reforms as abolition and temperance, which had doubtful economic value. In particular their abolition views closed almost the entire South to them and brought troubles in the North—even with the McClellan army. The result for the social historian is great joy. He has not only the intriguing psychological problem of combining philanthropy and avarice, but also a sidelight on the reform movements of the day. Instead of an account devoted exclusively to concert programs,

audiences, and dickerings with publishers, he finds a book filled with references to such people as Henry Ward Beecher, Lydia Maria Child, Andrew Jackson Davis, Frederick Douglass, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greeley, Julia Ward Howe, Abraham Lincoln, Harriet Martineau, Lucretia Mott, Daniel Webster, and John G. Whittier.

Professor Jordan obviously had a grand time in preparing this book. Presumably his interest was attracted in part because the Hutchinsons helped to found a town of their name in Minnesota. He gathered his material from widely scattered sources and over a long period of time. He has written with verve, using imaginary dialogues and many of the Hutchinson songs to encourage reader interest. His greatest difficulty has been inherent in the subject. Mother and Father Hutchinson had fourteen living children—a rather complex cast of characters. Although the first touring troupe of three brothers and a sister permits a unified narrative the plot becomes involved when this group is replaced by several others, including outsiders. Professor Jordan has surmounted the inevitable difficulties with reasonable success. His book is a fascinating account of one phase of nineteenth century social history.

Dartmouth College

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

A SHELF OF LINCOLN BOOKS: A CRITICAL, SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LINCOLNIANA. By *Paul M. Angle*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press in association with the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill. 1946. Pp. xvii, 142. \$3.00.)

ABRAHAM Lincoln is the most "written about" figure in the history of the United States. But although Lincoln literature in quantity is forbiddingly large, its quality is discouragingly bad. Bewilderingly diverse, too, are all too many published interpretations of the American Civil War President. Among the titles in Lincoln bibliography are: *The Real Lincoln* and *Lincoln the Unknown*; *Lincoln in the Black Hawk War* and *Lincoln the Quaker*; *Lincoln and Liquor* and *Lincoln and Prohibition*; *The Women Lincoln Loved* and *Lincoln the Woman-Hater*. Republican party writers have portrayed Lincoln as a leader concerned for political freedom and the rights of private property. Earl Browder, on the other hand, has published an article approving of America's favorite son, entitled "Lincoln and the Communists."

It is only in the past two decades that historiography has been enriched by the published contributions of such Lincoln scholars as J. G. Randall, Albert J. Beveridge, Harry E. Pratt, Jay Monaghan, Lloyd Lewis, Louis A. Warren, Roy P. Basler, David M. Potter, William Baringer, Benjamin P. Thomas, T. Harry Williams, R. Gerald McMurtry—and Paul M. Angle himself. For long, students looked in vain for a compass with which to guide them through the trackless bibliographical jungle that is *Lincolniana*. Now that need has been filled by Mr.

Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, in *A Shelf of Lincoln Books*.

Mr. Angle knows his Lincoln and has been highly discriminatory in selecting the volumes which he considers worthy of being included in a serious Lincoln library. He has written a critique of the better volumes in the field. The first title treated is the monumental twelve-volume *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by the Civil War President's secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, published in 1894. Mr. Angle finds this production inadequate and incomplete: innumerable letters written by Lincoln have come to light since the 1890's and the two secretaries' editing is faulty and the text inaccurate in spots. In the 1905 edition of Nicolay and Hay (actually edited by Francis D. Tandy) Mr. Angle reveals fourteen misdated letters. In comparing Tracy's *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* with his own *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, Mr. Angle describes his volume as one which "falls below the Tracy collection in interest and importance." He also demonstrates the carelessness of Emanuel Hertz in editing numerous letters in the latter's *Abraham Lincoln: A New Portrait*. Philip Van Doren Stern's and Roy P. Basler's published selections from Lincoln's writings have measured up to Mr. Angle's high standards of historical taste.

In criticizing the numerous biographies, Mr. Angle concludes that the best of the earlier ones are those by William Dean Howells, Josiah G. Holland, Ward H. Lamon, Isaac N. Arnold, and William H. Herndon; the most worth while of the modern lives of America's immortal son have come from the pens of J. G. Randall, Albert J. Beveridge, Carl Sandburg, Ida M. Tarbell, and Lord Charnwood. Mr. Angle might have pointed out the shortcomings—indeed, downright inaccuracies—of Charnwood's work.

Mr. Angle has also appraised the better specialized studies of Lincoln's life and career. He has sifted so finely that he has been able to present an excellent selection of the consequential books on Lincoln's ancestry, young manhood, love affairs, law career, politics, presidency, and assassination.

Those students desirous of penetrating the hazardous land of Lincolniana can save much time and avoid innumerable exasperations by first consulting the guide that is Angle's *A Shelf of Lincoln Books*.

Columbia University

REINHARD H. LUTHIN

THE BELEAGUERED CITY: RICHMOND, 1861-1865. By *Alfred Hoyt Bill*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xiv, 313. \$3.00.)

MR. Bill's book, though in many respects admirably done, has two fundamental defects. In the first place it attaches to Richmond an importance that hardly accords with the findings of historians who have studied the Confederacy as a whole. Mr. Bill's approach is frankly stated in the first sentences of his preface: "As early as the May of 1862 it was said that 'the whole city knew that, if Richmond fell, the Confederacy would fall with it.' The wisest had known this to be

true for some time, and the knowledge of it . . . permeated every class of society as the war went on" (p. xi).

It is well enough to say that the people of Richmond (and many outside of Richmond) as early as May, 1862, *thought* that the fall of Richmond would mean the end of the Confederacy. But it is quite another thing to accept the thought as a fact, as Mr. Bill apparently does. Certainly it might be argued that the Confederacy could better have parted with Richmond in the early months of 1862 than with the strongholds on the Mississippi and Tennessee rivers which the Federals captured at that time. The ready acceptance by Mr. Bill of what well may be regarded as a contemporary fallacy tends to distort that part of his story which treats of the relation of the capital with other parts of the Confederacy.

A second shortcoming of *The Beleaguered City* is the failure of the author sufficiently to sift his evidence: to say what he regards as gossip or rumor and what he accepts as fact; to distinguish between what was reported and what actually was. For example, one would like to know, but one is left guessing, whether Mr. Bill regards General Winder's police as a bunch of thugs whose principal activity was the oppression of law-loving citizens, or whether this was largely a notion born of popular revulsion against the restrictions and inconveniences of war; and again, one wonders whether the author deems fraud and ineptitude the general rule in Confederate supply agencies, or whether this is to be viewed as a questionable conviction springing from the widespread lack of essential commodities. The author's failure to separate fact from fancy tends at times to give his narrative the semblance of a historical merry-go-round, with the reader frequently not knowing where he stands or which way he is heading.

One specific result of the failure critically to evaluate authorities is an appraisal of Jefferson Davis that, in the opinion of this reviewer, is hardly fair. While Mr. Bill does not cite his sources, except in a general bibliography (he uses his reference notes solely as an overflow for the text), one gets the impression that his estimate of Davis comes largely from the *Examiner's* Davis-baiting Daniel and Pollard, and from local and visiting commentators who gave undue weight to the mouthings of a people made melancholy by want and war and who naturally sought a scapegoat in the administration.

Mr. Bill states in his preface that his material is "drawn almost exclusively from their diaries and Southern records and memoirs of the time and from the writings of foreigners who were their warm friends and eager collaborators" (p. xiii). This circumstance gives the writing a flavor of the period and makes for lively reading, but it also tends to place the focus on the doings of the upper classes and to produce a somewhat more roscate view of Richmond society than is probably justified.

But the book has much in its favor. It is exceedingly interesting. Its colorful descriptions give the reader a vivid impression of time and place. The author performs admirably the difficult task of weaving a vast and varied mass of detail

into a moving and absorbing narrative. For pleasant reading *The Beleaguered City* is superb; as history it leaves much to be desired.

Louisiana State University

BELL I. WILEY

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. By *John Tracy Ellis*, Associate Professor of American Church History in the Catholic University of America. (Washington: American Catholic Historical Association. 1946. Pp. 415. \$3.00.)

THE Catholic University of America receives in this conscientious and detailed work the aureole of praise richly deserved by the first institution in this country founded mainly for the postgraduate education of the religious brotherhoods, sisterhoods, and diocesan clergy. The project initiated in 1889 by the Catholic bishops, aided by the regal gift of Mary Gwendoline Caldwell, was a welcome complement to the numerous Catholic colleges and the several Catholic universities which, during the preceding decades, had been performing with competence, sound pedagogical technique, and considerable success the task of forming an educated Catholic laity.

In the year of the establishment of the Catholic University of America, Georgetown University was celebrating its centennial. The Universities of Notre Dame, St. Mary of the Lake, St. Louis, and Fordham had been in existence for almost a half century, and the number of Catholic colleges totaled somewhat less than eighty. All these institutions were yet in process of growth, and most of them were still relatively small. But the rationale of their teaching was a Christian European collegiate and university tradition that stretched back to Paris, Oxford, and Renaissance Italy, and to Aquinas, Erasmus, and Roger Bacon. None of these Catholic centers of learning in the United States possessed, as yet, graduate departments in the strict modern sense of the term; but the same could have been said of all American universities until the notable Johns Hopkins innovation of 1876.

Georgetown, as early as 1820, had added to its curriculum systematic lectures in rational philosophy, natural science, and higher mathematics, open only to students who were already bachelors of arts. These studies were to be taken in course, leading to a master's degree which was kept carefully distinct from the customary honorary awards. In 1844 the same institution had established an astronomical observatory the expressed purpose of which was the "instruction of students and others in the use of fine astronomical instruments." Such instruction, at that period, was commonly regarded as postgraduate in character. At this observatory, by the mid-point of the century, Angelo Secchi, pioneer in electric rheometry and astronomical spectroscopy, was teaching physics and astronomy to Georgetown students in course, on a graduate level as the term was understood everywhere at that day. Benedetto Sestini, already famous for his drawings of sun spots, was also at Georgetown, giving instruction in astronomy on the same academic plane. After 1888 John Hagen, author of one of the earliest works on variable stars, was engaged in

independent research at the Jesuit observatory. All three of these scholars were members of the Jesuit Order.

There was, of course, in 1889, much yet to be done by Catholic universities, and indeed by most of the institutions of higher learning in the United States. Neither at Georgetown nor at any other Catholic university was the graduate curriculum organized with the administrative precision demanded today. Wherefore the new Catholic University was greeted cordially by the older Catholic universities as a fresh and worthy collaborator as the new era of higher scholarship dawned. If the scope of the new institution was limited, if the Catholic University was intended mainly, though not exclusively, for the postgraduate training of the spiritual leaders and teachers of the church, it was nonetheless a long-sought-for response to a pressing need. The hope expressed by the president of Georgetown that the new university would soon open its doors to secular students also, was shortly fulfilled, with the happiest results.

The purpose of the author of this book was not to write a comprehensive history of the Catholic University, but, rather, to describe the events leading up to the institution's foundation. This task he has performed with diligence and, naturally, with much affection for his subject. His work will be an indispensable tool for the scholar who undertakes the larger project.

The writer of such a definitive history will have more opportunity to award due place to such facts as those noted above concerning the Catholic college and university achievement in the United States prior to 1889. These facts, and numerous others of similar character, when so presented, will supplement Father Ellis' statements that "little or nothing had been done among American Catholics for the advancement of graduate instruction up to the 1880's," and, "many of them [Catholic colleges] were hardly more than secondary schools" (p. 22).

It is pleasant, though scarcely surprising, to note the encouragement given to the Catholic University project by the official spokesmen of the Jesuit Order (pp. 103-108, 393). Any other attitude on the part of an organization which for three hundred years had maintained its position among the educational leaders of Europe would have been indeed passing strange.

Georgetown University

JOSEPH T. DURKIN

PIETY AND INTELLECT AT AMHERST COLLEGE, 1865-1912. By *Thomas Le Duc*. [Columbia Studies in American Culture, Number 16.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 165. \$2.00.)

BECAUSE this small volume is much more than an account of events at Amherst College and is actually a study in the history of ideas, many beside Amherst men will want to read it. Here, in the struggle of one institution to maintain its equilibrium in the midst of the strains and stresses of the nineteenth century, one sees the background for the struggle our colleges face today. According to this book the trend in the last century, both inside the colleges and outside, was from a unified

sense of mission to intellectual anarchy. If we can see and face this trend, may it not help us to strengthen those forces that are making for a new synthesis in our own time?

Amherst was founded not by one individual but through "the dedication of a whole community" to fill the need, as was later said, for a college "not quite so far west as Williams and not quite so far toward Plato as Cambridge." Until the Civil War it maintained unity of purpose and action. But about 1870 its placid surface was ruffled by the winds of German scholarship and its religious orthodoxy was challenged by the appearance of science teachers with German Ph.D.'s. Almost without realizing what it was doing the college was forced to shift its emphasis from religious authority to intellectual freedom and from the quest for individual salvation to a stress on character and a broader social idealism.

While the sciences introduced new experimental attitudes, Greek and Latin fought a losing battle against the desire for "facts." At the same time the Greek letter societies took over functions the college was unwilling or unable to assume. In place of recitations they provided discussion sessions and in place of rather meager library resources they offered their own well-stocked shelves. Above all they expressed the protest of the undergraduate against the official doctrine of asceticism and spirituality, offering him at once more luxurious living quarters and a chance to align himself with what he considered "aristocratic" and "successful." "For the America of the 1880's, afflicted with unassured robber barons and overrun with immigrants, perhaps the fraternity was a fitting symbol." In 1900 the college was "clearly in the hands of students" and had went to worse until a reform was instituted in 1912. The implication is that this result of the clash of orthodoxy with science and materialism was practically inevitable.

Have our colleges a new basis for leadership and a new and inspiring sense of mission today? "By its nature," says the author, "the college is one of the most conservative forces in society. It is founded and maintained to perpetuate by transfer a definite set of values." The real question, of course, is as to the nature of the values and the flexibility of their treatment. In spite of its failures the history of this college indicates that if we are not afraid of the truth and what it implies we have in the activity of teaching and in the loyalties it enlists a basis for meeting even the problems posed by Moscow and Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Colby College

J. S. BIXLER

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN AMERICA, 1815-1860. By *Arthur Alphonse Ekirch, jr.* [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Number 511.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 305. \$3.50.)

THIS volume is a significant contribution to American cultural history, if only in the painstaking way in which the author has surveyed the literary and oratorical efforts of American contemporaries, the effusions of the journalists and pam-

phileteers of the future, sometimes subject only to the conditions and they laid down as essential to this progress. Americans were not from them they had a basic heritage of the faith of the founding fathers like Franklin and had a basic and additional stimulus in the philosophy of the eighteenth century requir- transplanted to the virgin soil of a new nation" and in the con- of encouragement that flowed from the pens of such European s of progress as Priestley, Cousin, and Guizot. A glorious future for can political experiment was predicted by such widely differing com- mentators as the conservative Federalist, Timothy Dwight, and the popular Demo- cratic historian, George Bancroft; others of equally different persuasions pro- claimed a hopeful outlook, sometimes contingent only upon the removal of obstructionist forces such as they beheld within and without.

America's destiny to spread the principles of political and religious liberty was extensively proclaimed by statesmen, preachers, poets, and reformers but warnings of "false progress" were often in the picture. The vast resources of the nation made population growth seem an essential to the progress of civilization to a degree that belied the pessimism of the Malthusians. Programs for a new society with utopian promises flourished under such favorable conditions. Educational idealism seemed itself a "universal Utopia," a promise of democratic progress and a safeguard against destructive ultraism. There were those who feared existing threats to social stability which made some prescribe Christianity—and oftentimes only a Protestant or Catholic brand—as a condition of true progress. Orestes A. Brownson, convert to Catholicism, counted Protestantism as an obstructionist force as others did the incidents of Roman Catholicism. Conservatism and even pessimism crept into many of the literary efforts of the day; many saw only inevitable doom as the result of the innovations that others regarded as the hope of the future. Yet the idea of progress persisted and was more generally invoked in appropriate form or with proper qualifications. Its boldest aspect was the ally of the antislavery cause while the proslavery forces made use of their own conservative version.

The author has chosen his material with discrimination and has offered quotations with commendable restraint. If his monograph tends to obscure rather than to stress some of the basic cleavages of the period, it serves a useful purpose in revealing the scope of a common element in the evolution of the American spirit.

Brooklyn College

ARTHUR C. COLE

HENRY MEIGGS: *YANKEE PIZARRO*. By *Watt Stewart*, Professor of History, New York State College for Teachers, Albany. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 370. \$4.00.)

THE author of this highly interesting volume has engaged himself in a task that has been awaiting the consideration of scholars for some time—the task of examin-

ing fully and individually the activities and influence of Americans pioneering in the region south of the Rio Grande border.

Henry Meiggs, the subject of this study, was one of a group of Americans who, for a variety of reasons, found the atmosphere of Latin America congenial to their skills and ambitions than that of their native land. That robust element in nineteenth century American society which, inspired by an adventurous spirit and driven by dreams of great wealth, could be found following the course of every rainbow.

Meiggs began his career in the 1820's as a lumber merchant in the eastern United States. But always on the alert for opportunities for widening the scope of his activities, he was drawn to San Francisco during the Gold Rush of '49. Here he accumulated a fortune as a lumber dealer more rapidly than many who spent their time panning the gravel for the elusive metal. Just as quickly, however, did his wealth disappear. Overweening ambition and a willingness to gamble drove him into debt from which he tried to extricate himself by resorting to criminal devices. When faced with disaster in 1854, he chose the route of flight. Chile was his destination. There he began life anew.

The course of his career in Chile and subsequently in Peru is studded with an amazing series of railway-construction enterprises. In both countries he became the railroad builder of the age, and paeans of praise were heaped upon him. As the author notes, however, Meiggs's construction accomplishments were by no means an unmixed blessing. This was particularly true in the case of Peru. Meiggs involved the Peruvian government in financial difficulties that threatened bankruptcy for all concerned. The story of his efforts to disentangle himself and the nation from this situation provides fascinating reading. Death, in 1877, brought surcease for the man at the moment that the cause seemed lost; the effects of his adventures upon Peru, however, have been continuous.

As Dr. Stewart points out, Meiggs's activities were not confined to railway enterprises. His interests ranged far and wide, vitally influencing life in the communities in which he lived. Much of this industry was prompted, the author tells us, by Meiggs's insatiable appetite for gold. The feeling will not hold, however, that occasionally something decidedly more elevating than the pursuit of wealth motivated the man. Whatever conclusion one may reach regarding the character of this man (and the author permits the reader some latitude in this respect), here is the story of a remarkable individual.

The author in preparing his manuscript has gone to the sources in this country, in Chile, and in Peru. He has produced a study the value of which suggests the need for extending the inquiry by investigating the activities of other Americans whose careers in Latin America rival that of the subject of this excellent monograph.

Muhlenberg College

VICTOR L. JOHNSON

phlet of the day, and a considerable amount of unpublished sources, to cull from their contributions to the evidence that Americans of the middle period had a certain hope for the future, sometimes subject only to the conditions and requirements that they laid down as essential to this progress. Americans were not only inspired by the heritage of the faith of the founding fathers like Franklin and Jefferson but found additional stimulus in the philosophy of the eighteenth century enlightenment "transplanted to the virgin soil of a new nation" and in the continuing stream of encouragement that flowed from the pens of such European philosophers of progress as Priestley, Cousin, and Guizot. A glorious future for the American political experiment was predicted by such widely differing commentators as the conservative Federalist, Timothy Dwight, and the popular Democratic historian, George Bancroft; others of equally different persuasions proclaimed a hopeful outlook, sometimes contingent only upon the removal of obstructionist forces such as they beheld within and without.

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Muhlenberg College

VICTOR L. JOHNSON

AMERICAN CHEMICAL INDUSTRY: THE WORLD WAR I PERIOD, 1912-1922. By *Williams Haynes*. Volumes II and III. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1945. Pp. xliii, 440; xv, 606. \$8.00 per volume.)

WILLIAMS Haynes in this elaborate study of American chemical industry has made a most important and significant contribution to American history. The entire work is to be in six volumes, but the author has written Volumes II and III before the opening volume. He explains that although the early beginnings of American chemical industry are important (its origins can be traced as far back as Captain John Smith in 1608) its period of greatest development falls between the years 1912 and 1922. Mr. Haynes writes: "I was certain that the following pages would be more valuable and much more interesting because of the first hand information—facts, figures, and illuminating incidents—from men who played active roles in the chemical drama of the first World War. So important is this personal, off-the-record material that I hastened to submit the first rough draft of each chapter to men familiar with the particular events it records. . . . Each year thins the ranks of the veterans [and] I have been keen to gather and preserve as much original testimony from such leaders as possible. It is invaluable and irreplaceable." The author has admirably carried out his purpose and has placed all historians in his debt.

Despite the heavy emphasis placed upon the development of chemistry in World War I Mr. Haynes points out that these volumes chronicle the beginnings of the "Chemical Revolution," a change which he considers as important as the Industrial Revolution. "It is as apt to revolutionize our industries, our laws and our mode of living. None of us can as yet even guess all that man-made raw materials will mean to the human race." Although atomic energy is nowhere mentioned, anyone who wishes to probe the implications of the peacetime applications of atomic energy and especially the significance of radioactive tracer elements for the discovery of new chemical compounds and processes will find this work of the utmost importance.

Even with a study as excellent as this, a reviewer may find some fault. In his discussion of the personalities involved in the important events described the author is overgenerous and even seems to lean backward in his efforts to give credit to all who appear in his vast panorama. One may ascribe the author's gentleness and politeness to the fact that many of the personalities mentioned are still alive or only recently deceased. The prospective reader is therefore warned to make due allowance for a bit of sugar coating.

More than three hundred portraits of leaders in chemical industry are included, together with brief biographical notes. In addition there are in each volume detailed appendixes with statistical tables and elaborate bibliographical documentation. The author has also provided name and subject indexes.

The first volume is eagerly awaited and the completed work will provide an

indispensable reference guide for students of American technological and industrial history.

Library of Congress

MORRIS C. LEIKIND

THE WILSON ERA: YEARS OF WAR AND AFTER, 1917-1923. By *Josephus Daniels*, Secretary of the Navy, 1913-1921. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 654. \$4.00.)

JOSEPHUS Daniels bears the imprint of the years of Reconstruction, when there was little future for the South, and the years of Republican ascendancy, when there was little hope for the Democratic party. As "Tar Heel Editor," he was fully grown before the secession of Theodore Roosevelt delivered the control of national affairs into the hands of the Democratic party, and before Woodrow Wilson took him from the sanctum of the *Raleigh News and Observer* to entrust him with the Navy. That his administration of the Navy was a distinct credit to him, and a material assistance to victory in the first World War, cannot be challenged; but the Secretary of the Navy remained landsman, journalist, and politician. Although he has since been ambassador through two administrations, he remains landsman, journalist, and politician in this fourth great volume, wherein he records events and impressions of the years 1917-1923.

His literary character, too, was complete before he moved into the State, War, and Navy Building, with offices looking down on the White House. It has not changed. He still writes without inhibitions, verifies sparsely, and gossips with a freedom which makes it hard to guess which of his recollections are to be accepted as records of fact. In the current volume, flowing with the years, we find Daniels, Wilson, war, politics, diplomacy, travelogue. Continuities are broken up by the changes of theme, each with a journalist's subhead. In four pages, picked at random, we find these captions: "The Dry Dock 'Sunk Up,'" "Look up to God," "Generosity of Hawaiians," "Japanese Schools," "Appeased the Shark God." Daniels draws and comments upon his diary, inserts quotations from the books of others, does paragraphs on casual clippings, and interjects recollection as it occurs to him.

He has much to say about his Assistant Secretary of the Navy, whether because the services of Franklin D. Roosevelt warrant it, or because the later eminence of his subordinate has increased devotion. He makes it clear that Roosevelt was active in every field of Navy management, yet he fails to provide material for a measured judgment upon this usefulness. Devotion to Woodrow Wilson is the theme song for the volume, strengthening with retrospect. As a partisan, and a partisan without apology, Daniels clings to party and to tradition. Colonel House—"Smooth-It-Away" House—still irritates him. Lodge was gloating and venomous, and to follow his trail "would have broken the back of the most supple rattlesnake." Penrose, "partisan" and "reckless," was inspired by a desire to "smear the

Navy." The pattern left in the mind of Daniels, as he now looks back to the days when he was close to the White House, is unreconstructed. It is hard to tell, assuming that his recollection is correct, which of four leading characters is most harshly treated when he writes: "'I have reached the conclusion,' said President Wilson to me one day when he was irked by Walter Page's pro-British attitude, 'that Walter Page is the damndest fool we ever appointed.' And he asked, 'Don't you agree with me?' I shook my head and answered: 'No I do not. I am committed to Admiral Sims.'"

Berkeley, California

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919. Volume VII. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1946. Pp. 985. \$2.50.)

THIS fifth volume in order of issue (Volumes V and VI not yet having appeared) is the first of three volumes which will contain the minutes with supporting documents of "The Council of the Heads of Delegations." This body continued the inchoate and temporary world government of the Supreme War Council and the Councils of Ten, Five, Four, and Three, from the signing of the treaty with Germany at the end of June, 1919, to the inauguration of the League of Nations on January 10, 1920.

Volume VII begins with the meeting of July 1, 1919, and ends with that of August 28. The Council was a serious affair: it met on five days each week for a total of forty-six meetings in two months (on four July days two meetings each). The absence after World War II of such a peacemaking body in practically continuous session is conspicuous and deplorable.

Each of the "Big Five" nations in the Council was entitled to a principal representative, a secretary, and one member of the "joint secretariat"; the Frenchman Professor Paul J. Mantoux was the sole interpreter. France, however, had regularly two representatives and two or three additional secretaries. The meetings were thus of about twenty persons, with the admission at times of one or more visitors to discuss particular subjects.

M. Clemenceau, at the time also premier of France, presided. M. Pichon, French foreign secretary, was regularly present. The British Empire was represented throughout by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the Italians by M. Tittoni, and the Japanese by M. Matsui. America was not as continuously represented as the other states, since Mr. Lansing attended for eleven days, Mr. Henry White for twenty days, and Mr. F. L. Polk for thirty-one days. Mr. Leland Harrison, however, remained as American secretary throughout.

The subjects discussed were numerous: they are summarized in twenty-one pages of classified index. Questions relating to Germany, Austria, and Hungary were abundant, occupying altogether about one third of the time. The other states

demanding considerable attention, as did such matters of general interest as armies of occupation, aviation, coal and other economic questions, the League of Nations, ports and waterways, and treaties.

The book lacks a table of contents. For each meeting the list of persons present is recorded, then the conversation at the meeting is reported with marginal headings, and finally appendixes present pertinent documents. Footnotes identify persons, explain allusions, and contain references. The whole provides a mine of material for amplifying and correcting the history of much of the world in the postwar summer of 1919. That is especially true of the documents bearing on the blockade of Russia.

University of Illinois

A. H. LYBYER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

INTRODUCTION A L'HISTOIRE. By *Louis Halphen*, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1946, pp. 99, 50 fr.) Louis Halphen is one of France's leading medievalists. He is the author of several reputed monographs, editor and compiler of some collections of sources, a member of the Institut, professor at the Sorbonne, co-editor (with Philippe Sagnac) of the excellent "Peuples et civilisations" series, and contributor of many articles to the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and to numerous periodicals. He has now chosen to expound his views on the method, nature, and scope of history, but there is little that is intrinsically noteworthy in the ninety-odd pages of text. The subject of historical method is treated with clarity and interest in categories that are quite familiar—the importance of history, the analysis of evidence, problems of synthesis, narration, and generalization, and the antecedent literature of the subject. M. Halphen adds little if anything (except perhaps some illustrative material) to the major principles that have been known to historians since Bernheim if not since Thucydides. Should M. Halphen's book excite more than passing interest, it will be for the very reason that he returns to and staunchly defends the familiar principles. He has read, or at least knows about, the critiques of "pure" history by recent philosophers and sociologists like Raymond Aron, Henri Berr, Benedetto Croce, Wilhelm Dilthey, Paul Lacombe, Georg Simmel, Frank Teggert, and Max Weber, but only to repudiate them as too systematic, too obscure, or too lacking in understanding of historical practice (pp. 94-96). Such problems as epistemology, causality, psychology, semantics, *Wissensoziologie*, and evaluation that have exercised the most provocative of sociological and humanistic inquirers of our century receive summary attention at M. Halphen's hands (with the exception of the problem of periodization [pp. 63-65]). He is indifferent or antagonistic to questions of meaningfulness and interpretation in the cosmological sense, though he insists upon interpretation within separate historical monographs. Halphen (who was born in 1880) thus identifies himself with a school that the reviewer hopes, and sees some reason to believe, belongs to a passing generation of historians. If that hope is not an illusion, M. Halphen's work, especially since it is an able summary of his school's point of view, deserves attention chiefly as a sort of valedictory.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

HISTORICAL CHANGE. By *Lewis Einstein*. [Current Problems, 27.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. 132, \$1.25.) According to the author's own statement, he hopes to discover "the meaning that change bears to historical action" by exploring the large field which lies between the "lofty citadel of philosophy" and the "low ramparts of history." But is there such a field? The reviewer must confess that the concept of change remains to him a rather bloodless phantom if it is not placed into a clear and definite relation to basic historical categories like "development" and "evolution." And the reviewer feels rather uncomfortable about the way the numerous historical facts which are used as exemplifications are not seen in their peculiar historical setting but made to fit the point which is to be proved. It is probably the necessary result of this method—or more correctly of this lack of method—that the author's many-sided reflections on "the role of leadership in change," on "ideas and change," on "civilisation and change" lead to conclusions which are some-

what meager and commonplace, for instance, that the influence of even the greatest personality on the course of history is limited, that the outcome of a political action is often very different from its intent, or that periods of unrest are followed by periods of stability. Despite these shortcomings from the scholarly point of view, the small book has a certain charm and makes enjoyable reading. Because the author is not bound by any strict method, he mixes freely theoretical reflections with interesting discussions of his own views and experiences; what he says, for instance, on the developments in Austria and southeastern Europe, and on the differences between the American and European outlook, is original and stimulating.

FELIX GILBERT

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT ON HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY, FOR THE YEAR 1944-45. (Charlottesville, University of Virginia, 1945, pp. 58.)

SUMMARIES OF THESES ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, 1942, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. (Cambridge, Harvard University, 1946, pp. ix, 385, \$2.00.)

CERVANTES: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. BOOKS, ESSAYS, ARTICLES, AND OTHER STUDIES ON THE LIFE OF CERVANTES, HIS WORKS, AND HIS IMITATORS. By *Raymond L. Grismer*, University of Minnesota. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1946, pp. 183, \$4.50.)

THE FEVER BARK TREE: THE PAGEANT OF QUININE. By *M. L. Duran-Reynals*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1946, pp. ix, 275, \$2.75.) *The Fever Bark Tree* is the story of man's recognition of the value of quinine in the treatment of malaria and of the struggle to obtain it in adequate quantity. Mrs. Duran-Reynals traces the story of quinine from its early use among the Peruvian Indians through its final replacement by the newer synthetic antimalarials. She portrays vividly its introduction into Europe and the centuries of controversy over its therapeutic value, a controversy prolonged by man's inability to distinguish malaria from other fevers and heightened by political and religious struggles among and within nations. The story is then carried through the many tragic expeditions to South America in search of richer sources of cinchona, the series of attempts to smuggle the seeds from the center of the continent to foreign lands, and the difficulties encountered in establishing the tree in Ceylon and the Dutch East Indies. Proper attention is given to the recent war situation when the loss of the East Indies forced the Allied Nations to more extensive use and even development of newer antimalarials which have been found to be sufficiently superior to quinine that they will largely, if not entirely, replace it in the future. The story is told clearly and in a highly interesting manner against a background of political and economic intrigue. This is more than a mere narrative. It is a successful attempt to portray critically the difficulties that delayed the recognition of the value of quinine and the procurement of it in adequate quantity. In preparing the volume the author has consulted the original document of several centuries ago. It is an authoritative and skillfully prepared historical study that merits a place in the history of medicine. In addition it is a story that will fascinate the lay reader. The book is most timely in appearance, for the new synthetic antimalarials may well relegate quinine to a point of mere historical interest. In telling her story Mrs. Duran-Reynals is recording events which in their entirety constitute a highly significant episode in the evolution of the modern world.

GAYLORD W. ANDERSON, M.D.

JEWISH LUMINARIES IN MEDICAL HISTORY, AND A CATALOGUE OF WORKS BEARING ON THE SUBJECT OF THE JEWS AND MEDICINE FROM

THE PRIVATE LIBRARY OF HARRY FRIEDENWALD. By *Harry Friedenwald*, Professor Emeritus of Ophthalmology, University of Maryland. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1946, pp. viii, 199, \$3.00.)

LA PAPAUTE CONTEMPORAINE (1878-1945). Par *Henry Marc-Bonnet*, Agrégé de l'Université. ["Que sais-je?" no. 209.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1946, pp. 135.)

PAPER BULLETS: A BRIEF STORY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN WORLD WAR II. By *Leo J. Margolin*, Field Representative of the Overseas Branch, United States Office of War Information, attached to the Psychological Warfare Branch, Allied Force Headquarters, as news editor, 1943-1945. (New York, Froben Press, 1946, pp. 149, \$2.50.) Leo Margolin's story of psychological warfare in World War II consists of fourteen short chapters written in glib journalese. Most of the information which the book contains will be familiar to anyone who has studied the magazines in his favorite barber shop. The author gives an uncritical endorsement of the achievements of our psychological warriors; their success was so spectacular, he asserts, that "army commanders . . . insist that psychological warfare can do anything—or at least, most [*sic*] anything" (p. 106). Mr. Margolin feels obliged to warn his readers against falling for the naive delusion of "army commanders" that psychological warfare is a brand of black magic. The book contains fifty well-selected illustrations of leaflets used by the Allies, the Germans, and the Japanese. Adults will be well advised just to look at the pictures.

PAUL R. SWEET

THE LAST PHASE: THE ALLIED VICTORY IN WESTERN EUROPE. By *Walter Millis*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946, pp. xi, 130, \$2.50.) With *The Martial Spirit* (1931) and *The Road to War* (1935), both of them book club selections, Walter Millis proved himself to be a careless historian but a competent propagandist for the isolationist idea. Came Munich with its aftermath and he was one of the first publicists and journalists to do a flipflop. His *Why Europe Fights* (1940), will probably be viewed by some future historian as a factor in America's new road to war in World War II. The Office of War Information knew a good, instinctive propagandist when they saw one, and quite wisely sought Mr. Millis as a consultant. This latest book, *The Last Phase*, is the result. It was written by Mr. Millis primarily to be translated into German for the "re-education" of the Germans. It turned out to be such a smooth, readable work that it attracted the favorable attention of a commercial publisher. Thus, the principal historical interest of the book rests in its origin and primary purpose rather than its content. Its scope is from the Normandy landings to the collapse of Germany, and within that scope it tells a fast-moving, conventional, and reasonably well-synthesized story. Its illustrations are excellent. Because it was written for German consumption, Mr. Millis made more frequent mention of German divisions, corps, and armies engaged than do most other treatments of this final phase of the fighting in Europe.

JIM DAN HILL

JUSTICE AT NUERNBERG: A PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE TRIAL OF NAZI WAR CRIMINALS BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL AT NUERNBERG, GERMANY, 1945-46. Photographed by *Charles W. Alexander*, director of photography for the trial. Text by Anne Keeshan. (Chicago, Pence James and Associates, 1946, pp. 189, \$5.00.)

AMERICA AND RUSSIA IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY. By *Harold H. Fisher*. Foreword by Frederick Hard. (Claremont, Calif., Claremont College, 1946, pp. xii, 175, \$2.50.) This small volume is one of the best books on Russia to appear in many

years. It is written with knowledge and understanding, and with a sense of balance and objectivity too commonly lacking in works dealing with the Soviet Union and Soviet-American relations. It should be widely read. Dr. Fisher is keenly aware of the gravity of his subject. He stresses the tremendous responsibilities of America and Russia for the future of all mankind, places the question squarely in the great scientific and technological revolution of our time, sketches the relations between the two countries from our own colonial period, records the tragic consequences of the division of the world into two hostile camps with the establishment of the Soviet regime in 1917, and confronts boldly, honestly, and hopefully the supreme issue of our generation—the issue of whether we shall have one world or none. He belongs neither to the school of thought which apologizes for all Russian acts nor to the school which would declare war on the Soviet Union tomorrow morning. Reviewing the course of Russian domestic and foreign policy since 1917, he finds reason for hoping that the original purpose of the Revolution, “to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the international Soviet republic” throughout the world, has been abandoned. He sees the modification, under pressure of events, of one Marxian dogma after another. He sees the triumph of the doctrine of building socialism in one country, the apparent dissolution of the Third International, the recognition of limited property rights, the guaranteeing on paper of civil and political liberties, the weakening of the attack on religion, the restoration of the family, and the collaboration with capitalistic countries in the war against the Axis powers. He recognizes that great obstacles to understanding and co-operation in peace remain. But he believes these obstacles can be overcome through mutual concessions and the encouragement of economic and cultural relations. Both powers, he thinks, have a decisive stake in world peace. Certainly this is the counsel of wisdom.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

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- JOHN D. MILLET. World War II: The Post-Mortem Begins. *Ibid.*
- ARTHUR DAVIES. Geographical Factors in the Invasion and Battle of Normandy. *Geog. Rev.*, Oct.

Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

THE HELLENISTIC CIVILIZATION AND EAST ROME. By Norman H. Baynes.
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P. BOYANCÉ. La fin de la culture antique. *Ibid.*
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J. SPENCER KENNARD, JR. Was Capernaum the Home of Jesus? *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, June.
ROBERT M. GRANT. The Bible in the Ancient Church. *Jour. Religion*, July.
HAROLD MATTINGLY. The Religious Background of the *Historia Augusta*. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, July.

INSCRIPTION, COINS, AND OSTRACA

- ALBRECHT GOETZE. Three Achaemenian Tags. *Berytus*, VIII, no. 2.
M. LEJEUNE. En marge d'inscriptions grecques dialectales. *Rev. Etudes Anc.*, Jan., 1945.
BENJAMIN D. MERITT. Greek Inscriptions. *Hesperia*, July.

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

- J. G. MILNE. Alexandrian Coins Acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. *Jour. Egypt. Archaeology*, XXXI.
- CHARLES G. TORREY. A Greek Mortuary Tablet Belonging to Yale University. *Berytus*, VIII, no. 2.
- J. M. R. CORMACK. Inscriptions from Beroea. *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, XLI, 1940-45.
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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE VENERABLE BEDE: HIS SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS. By Sister M. Thomas Aquinas Carroll of the Sisters of Mercy, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval History, New Series, Volume IX.] (Washington, Catholic University Press, 1946, pp. ix, 270.) This monograph is divided into six chapters: (1) Bede's own spiritual life; (2) the church as Bede knew it; (3) Bede and the sacramental life; (4) sin and its purgation according to Bede; (5) incentives to virtue as emphasized by Bede; (6) the life of virtue in Bede's teaching. Sister M. Thomas Aquinas has thoroughly steeped herself in Bede's writings; she has a wide and accurate knowledge of the modern literature bearing on her subject; and, though here and there she may strain the evidence a little to prove that Bede's sacramental doctrine was essentially that taught by the church at a later date, her treatment on the whole is commendably objective. In short, this is a monograph of unusual excellence. It should be read carefully not only by students of Bede and his times but also, in view of Bede's subsequent influence, by all interested in the theology and doctrinal concepts of the earlier Middle Ages. A few minor details may be noted. Page 7, note 22: The date of the synod of Whitby was 664. See now Appendix VI in Wilhelm Levison's masterly book, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*. He proves, as I believe conclusively, that Bede began his year of the Incarnation on Christmas Day, not with an Indiction in September. On page 20, note 103, Cassiodorus' *Tripartite History* should be deleted; for Levison (*op. cit.*, p. 141, n. 1) points out that the passage in Bede on Mark which I had attributed to that source, was derived from Rufinus. Page 50, note 252: To a non-Catholic the use of the word "Apocrypha" without qualification will be misleading. Bede's reference is to the treatise on the death of the B.V.M. by the pseudo-Melito. Page 80, note 79: In her anxiety to assert that the Celts were not Quartodecimans, Sister M. Thomas Aquinas quite misinterprets Charles W. Jones, because she refers to only one part of his long discussion of the problem. On the gift of the *pallium* by the pope to metropolitans see now Levison, *op. cit.*, Appendix III. Page 116, note 115: The phantom Druthmar continues to rear his ugly head! The reference should be to Christian of Stavelot. See *Harvard Theological Review*, XX (1927), pp. 129 ff. And the fullest treatment of the pseudo-Bedan commentaries on Matthew and John is by A. E. Schönbach in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, CXLVI (1903), Heft 4.

M. L. W. LAISTNER

THE *STELLA MARIS* OF JOHN OF GARLAND. Edited, together with a study of certain collections of Mary Legends made in Northern France in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, by Evelyn Faye Wilson, Wellesley College. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 45.] (Cambridge, Wellesley College and Mediaeval Academy of America, 1946, pp. xii, 224, \$3.50, \$2.80 to members of the Academy.) This critical edition of one of the lesser works of John of Garland is the result of long and thorough study and measures up fully to the highest standard of

editions sponsored by the Academy. It is a partial fulfillment of the hope of the late L. J. Paetow, "the Medieval Academy of America, founded in 1925, could do no better to commence its promised series of texts than by furthering a critical edition of the collected works of John of Garland." He himself showed the way in his edition of the *Morale Scolarium* (Memoirs of the University of California, IV, no. 2; *History*, I, no. 2, cf. p. 79). This edition of the *Stella Maris* is quite in keeping with the quality of scholarship there exemplified. Important as the work may be to students of medieval Latin and pedagogy, historians will value it even more for other reasons. The cult of the Virgin, so prominent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a major inspiration to art, literature, and music, receives the chief attention of the editor. Thus the introduction and notes constitute more than two thirds of the text, permitting the author to make several important contributions to our knowledge of the worship of Mary. Most important, perhaps, is her achievement in establishing some sort of relationship between the major collections of many legends, most of which are anonymous. Her wide search for the origin of the sixty-one legends in the text has yielded important sidelights on the rise and spread of the cult from East to West as well as on the original additions of the West. The editor has excused herself from attempting any further reflection on the life and significance of this thirteenth century humanist with the delicate tribute to her former teacher, "In the introduction to the *Morale Scolarium* Paetow gives all the biographical details that are known about the author" (p. 77, n. 3). She can take great pleasure in the thought that her own work is a fitting companion piece to that of Paetow.

A. C. KREY

HENLEY-IN-ARDEN: AN ANCIENT MARKET TOWN AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

By *William Cooper*, Hon. Secretary of the Dugdale Society. (Birmingham, Cornish Brothers, 1946, pp. xii, 195, 21s.) North and west of the river Avon in Warwickshire lay the somewhat mysterious forest of Arden, of which we know little except as its name is retained by several places within its bounds, and as it has become famous in literature. It was evidently disafforested at an early date, if indeed it was ever afforested according to the later requirements of forest law. The town of Henley-in-Arden, on the other hand, has a long history, which Mr. William Cooper has set down for us in interesting and well-chosen detail. The form in which his book is written is unusual and has some advantages and some drawbacks for the historian. Each phase of the life of the town as it has appeared from Norman times to the present is treated separately under its own heading. As a result one learns a great number of selected facts, but it is not easy by this method to gain a very clear or inclusive picture of town life at any particular period of its history. As an economic unit the village emerged from a larger group containing Beaudesert and Wootton. It had its own fields, Lammas meadows, assarts, and courts. The tenants' holdings in the fields are described, as is usual in this region, in detail as between their neighbors. It belonged to great lordships, the Warwicks, the de Montforts, and the like. It had its gild, its interesting church of St. John, a market cross, its mill, its schools, its religious denominations, its public services, all developing through the ages and carefully described. At the end are some interesting documents of Henley and its neighbors, tax rolls, perambulations, wills, inventories, and the like, and an interesting note on Lady Luxborough, half sister of the first Viscount Bolingbroke, friend of Shenstone, and object of some of Horace Walpole's criticisms. The book may well be used in connection with Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*.

N. NEILSON

REMAINS HISTORICAL AND LITERARY CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF LANCASTER AND CHESTER. Volume 109, New Series. [Chetham

Miscellanies, New Series, Volume VIII.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1945, pp. 252.) Includes "the Royal and Seignorial Bailiffs of Lancashire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," by G. H. Tupling, and "The Ribble Salmon Fisheries: Materials for a History," by A. T. R. Houghton.

GUILLAUME BOUCHER: A FRENCH ARTIST AT THE COURT OF THE KHANS. By *Leonardo Olschki*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1946, pp. viii, 125, \$2.50.) This book brings together what is known of the achievements of Guillaume Boucher, a thirteenth century Parisian craftsman who practiced his art at Karakorum, the capital of the Mongols, on the Upper Orkhon river. He, together with certain Hungarians, Ruthenians, Georgians, and Armenians, had been taken prisoner at Belgrade in 1242. By 1254 he was reported by William of Rubruck as a worker in the court of Mangu, one of the grandsons of Genghis Khan. The colony also included "the nephew of a Norman bishop" and "a certain Basil who was the son of an Englishman." By relying almost exclusively on information and suggestions left to us in Rubruck's account and on a judicious reading between the lines, the author has reconstructed the life of Boucher at the court of the Mongols where his technological proficiency was highly prized. The Mongols then knew little or nothing about mechanical contrivances or work in metal and, having not yet conquered China, they were disposed to patronize European and Byzantine artisans as well as craftsmen from the Middle Kingdom. The contrivances which the Parisian produced seem to have been counterparts of those which Villard de Honnecourt created in France, and for that reason drawings by the latter are reproduced in the book. Boucher's supreme achievement was a spectacular drinking fountain to be placed in the great courtyard of the Khan. Manufactured with the aid of fifty workmen, it was so designed that drinks would flow automatically into bowls whenever the trumpeting angel at the top of the fountain called for them. The technical details of these and other contrivances reported by travelers are, in this book, analyzed with considerable ingenuity—both in terms of the medieval European taste for these things and in terms of the appeal they made to a conquering people who had only recently acquired a relish for sedentary life. The author has used his imagination to good purpose, though one wonders if he does not on occasion carry conjecture a little far. But as a description of "the oldest example of cooperation between Western Europe and Eastern Asia in the field of the fine arts" this book has few, if any, equals. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE COPTS. By *William H. Worrell*. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1945, pp. viii, 54, \$2.00.) This is not a history but a description of the Copts and their church. The account of the Coptic dialects states that Bohairic "was probably the first to be reduced to conventional written form" and "became the official dialect of the whole Coptic Church" in the eleventh century (p. 46). This is a view now widely accepted, but it might be well to note that most Bohairic material extant shows signs of being retranslated from Arabic and so belongs to the period when the language was artificially revived. The author rejects the view that "a direct connection exists between the Irish and Coptic churches" (p. 16), a view which he attributes to Stanley Lane-Poole (*Story of Cairo*, 1902). Lane-Poole's actual words are, "Some have held that Irish Christianity . . . was the child of the Egyptian Church" (*op. cit.* 2d ed. p. 62). The Irish church seems to have been founded by missionary monks; Egypt was the cradle of monasticism and was regarded as showing the highest type of monasticism. If that was the Irish attitude, it is likely that resemblances may be deliberate imitations, though each instance should be treated on its own. Page 31 refers to paper, "that astonishingly cheap substitute for papyrus," in the

seventh and eighth centuries. The oldest paper manuscript known (Near East) dates from 870. The frontispiece shows the façade of the Mu'allāqa church. It is historically a most interesting building and the side walls at the entry contain ancient stone work, but the front is modern and of a bad period. The interior of Abu Sarga (p. 49) displays the pulpit—a well-known show piece—and part of the iconostasis, but this does not suffice to explain the layout of a Coptic church. The ground plan of any Coptic church would have been welcome. The author has been singularly successful in compressing a good deal of information within narrow limits and presenting it in an interesting form.

DE LACY O'LEARY

GENERAL, INSTITUTIONAL, AND POLITICAL

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

MOREANA, 1478-1945: A PRELIMINARY CHECK LIST OF MATERIAL BY AND ABOUT SAINT THOMAS MORE. By *Frank Sullivan* and *Majie Padberg Sullivan*. (Kansas City, Mo., Rockhurst College, 1946, unpaginated.)

PURVEYANCE FOR THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. By *Allegra Woodworth*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XXXV, Part I.] (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1945, pp. 89, \$1.25.) In the period before the Puritan revolution one of the perennial causes of friction between the English crown and the people was the royal right of priority purchase or purveyance of supplies by the royal household. The intricacies of this problem during Elizabeth's reign form the subject of Dr. Woodworth's careful and exhaustive study, which took her from London to San Marino, with a number of stops between, in search of pertinent documents. It is seldom that so exhaustive a search for materials can be made by a young scholar; and it is seldom that the job of analyzing those materials is so well done. After a brief survey of the organization of Elizabeth's household, Dr. Woodworth turns to an examination of the way purveyance was exercised early in Elizabeth's reign, the complaints it occasioned, and the development of the practice (which had begun earlier) of arranging agreements, known as compositions, between the counties and the queen's officers for the supply of stated quantities of foods at fixed prices. These agreements, says Dr. Woodworth, were, in fact, means of tapping "vast sources of additional revenues" without resorting to illegal forms of taxation and without a struggle in Parliament. The one flaw in Dr. Woodworth's study, it seems to me, is that she does not give us a quantitative survey of the value of purveyance or of the compositions, so that the relative importance of the "vast sources" of additional revenue really might be judged. A paper of 1612 puts the value of purveyance at £37,540, and a later calculation fixes the savings growing out of purveyance as worth £25,000 a year. These amounts are not relatively "vast" sums. The antics connected with compounding illustrate the reluctance of Elizabethan gentlemen to pay and their inclination to shift the burden of supporting their government from their own to other shoulders. The whole matter affords also some insight into the reasons for the expediency of Elizabethan finance, in that it was easier to resort to numerous devices, such as purveyance, which affected small separated groups rather than to tackle the problem of basing state revenues on parliamentary taxes. The whole process of compounding was a temporary solution of the fiscal problems of the household, which did not long survive Elizabeth herself. Actually it is of a piece with all of Burghley's and Elizabeth's financial caution and lack of courage to do what they knew would provide the only solution of their fiscal problem. Because they did not make taxation the main basis of their system, they had to deal with countless irritating devices to raise money. Of these purveyance was one of the most productive and most annoying.

F. C. DIETZ

HUGH PETERS, A STUDY IN PURITANISM. By *J. Max Patrick*. [The University of Buffalo Studies, Vol. 17, no. 4.] (Buffalo, Committee on Publications on the Roswell Park Publication Fund, 1946, pp. 137-207, 50 cents.) Mr. Patrick's study of the life and thought of Hugh Peters, the seventeenth century Puritan divine and busy man of affairs in Old and New England, is based upon extensive research and is in many ways an able piece of work. But it is marred, in the opinion of this reviewer, by faulty organization and treatment. It is divided into three sections, of which the first is a narrowly factual chronicle of the events of Peters' life, with little attempt to portray or interpret his character or the world in which he lived. The fact that he was a vivid and picturesque figure is rather obscured; and the account suffers severely from its Spartan brevity. The second and third sections of the book deal with Peters as a preacher and propagandist and with his religious and political views. These latter sections are much better than the first. Peters is allowed to speak more often for himself; and Mr. Patrick writes with more warmth and understanding and gives us an interpretation of interest and value. It seems unfortunate that the three sections of the study were not woven into one, for Peters' life and his thought should not be divorced in this artificial way.

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

LIVINGSTONE'S LAST JOURNEY. By *Reginald Coupland*. (London, Collins, 1946? pp. 271, 12s. 6d.) "For this account of the last journey to the sources of the Nile undertaken by the great English African explorer and missionary, Dr. David Livingstone (1813-73), Sir Reginald Coupland has made use of much new material from the papers of Livingstone's two friends and collaborators, Walter and Kirk. It is a record of almost unparalleled human fortitude. An account of the adventurous journey of Stanley, the American journalist who set out in 1870 to find Livingstone in the African jungle, is also given, with a comparison of the characters of the two men."

RUFUS ISAACS, FIRST MARQUESS OF READING. Volume II. By His Son. (London, Hutchinson, 1946? pp. 384, 20s.) "Rufus Isaacs (1860-1935) was called to the bar at the age of twenty-seven and during the next twenty-six years he established himself as the greatest advocate of his time. He became lord chief justice of England in 1913 and successively British ambassador to Washington (1917-19), and, as Lord Reading, viceroy of India (1921-26) and foreign secretary in 1931. It is the later period of his life that is covered in the second volume of his biography. His work in America is fully dealt with and the account of his work in India occupies more than half the book."

THIRD CROSSING: A HISTORY OF THE FIRST QUARTER CENTURY OF THE TOWN AND DISTRICT OF GLADSTONE IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA. By *Margaret Morton Fahrni* and *W. L. Morton*. (Winnipeg, Advocate Printers, 1946, pp. ix, 118, \$2.50.)

A SAGA OF THE ST. LAWRENCE: TIMBER AND SHIPPING THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS. By *D. D. Calvin*. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1945, pp. x, 176, \$3.75.) Square timber was a major staple export from the Great Lakes region during much of the nineteenth century. It reached Quebec, which was the shipping point for the transatlantic voyage, by raft from the head of the river. The chief forwarding center from lake to river was at Garden Island near Kingston at the outlet of Lake Ontario, where for nearly a century three generations of Calvins did their business of rafting and forwarding. There the hewn square timber was put together in immense rafts, which in the early days were floated down the river with the current and later were towed by side-wheelers. The Calvins drew their timber, chiefly oak

and considerable pine, for floating it from both sides of the international border, much of it from as far away as Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. They themselves "made" only part of the timber which they handled; much timber made by others, especially in later years, they brought down the lakes in their own fleet of timber ships specially built for the purpose at Garden Island. Besides being the chief firm rafting timber on the St. Lawrence the Calvins also for many years operated a general towing service. Mr. D. D. Calvin, the author, a grandson of the founder of the firm, grew up on Garden Island while the rafting of timber still flourished there and was himself in young manhood the firm's agent at Quebec. The volume is based on a careful study of the firm's voluminous records and supplemented by his personal knowledge. He describes alike the development of the business and the peculiar techniques of the trade, with an eye to the significance of the whole story in the economic history of the St. Lawrence basin. The result is a book for which all who are interested in that history will be grateful.

R. G. TROTTER

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FRANCE

J. Salwyn Schapiro

GOVERNEURS, MAGISTRATS ET COLONS: L'OPPOSITION PARLEMENTAIRE ET COLONIALE A SAINT-DOMINGUE (1763-1769). By *G. Debien*. [Extraits de la Revue de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haïti, XVI, No. 59; XVII, No. 60.] (Port-au-Prince, V. Valcin, 1946, pp. 50, 36.) The Seven Years' War had demonstrated the mediocre military value of colonial militia in the French Leeward Islands. Hence, by royal decrees in 1763 a new constitution initiated radical reforms in colonial government, particularly the replacement of militia by royal troops for defense at the expense of increased colonial taxation. The lesser civil officials and poor whites in Saint-Domingue accepted the change; the great planters, in constant fear of slave insurrections, opposed the change, and the *conseil* or "*parlement*" at Port-au-Prince and D'Estaing refused to register the decrees. Insurrection in 1764-1765 was suppressed by vigorous officials sent from France. M. Debien reveals the extent and nature of the colonial opposition by printing at length some neglected correspondence of the Galbaud de Fort and Vanssay families for the years 1763-1765. The *conseil*, resting its opposition on a constitution of custom, insisted on financial autonomy; it played the same role against absolutism as did *parlements* in France and foreshadowed the Revolutionary spirit of 1789-91. The second part of this book concerns an almost revolutionary outbreak in Saint-Domingue in 1769 against the re-establishment of the royal army. It consists of a memoir and correspondence in defense of a group of high-class planters who were unjustly identified with insurrectionists and cruelly punished and imprisoned by Governor General d'Argout. One finishes this scholarly book with the impression that Saint-Domingue had authentic patriots of high principles and nobility of spirit. Such mentality was nurtured by the New World environment, but its ideals were hard to achieve in a slave colony under the Old Regime.

FRANK W. PITMAN

LA QUATRIEME REPUBLIQUE. By *Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch*. [Bibliothèque République, I.] (New York, Editions de la Maison Française, 1946, pp. 267.) In his latest book, *La Quatrième République*, Professor Mirkine-Guetzévitch presents with authority and brilliance the background of the constitutional problems facing the new France. The book is divided into three parts: the Republic of yesterday, the provisional Republic, and the Republic of tomorrow. The author points out the continuity of the democratic institutions and the legitimate character of de Gaulle's provisional government despite the apparent legality of the Vichy regime. The problems involved in the creation of new institutions are treated with the understanding of the historian and the technical competence of the jurist. This brief but rich volume is a mine of thought-provoking comparisons and interpretations; it shows a thorough

knowledge of French psychology and of the workings of France's parliamentary system. Some historians may disagree with the author's interpretation of France's contemporary history as the continued struggle between the friends and enemies of the Great Revolution. This thesis relegates to the background the very real economic or "class" struggle and hardly explains the existence of the Communist party or the MRP; a satisfactory synthesis of the economic and political interpretations is still wanting. Professor Mirkine-Guetzévitch insists on the primacy of the political. A collectivist economy, he affirms, not preceded by political renovation, would lead to neo-fascism. On the other hand, economic and social transformations may well be not only a more ethical but also a more efficient way of bringing about the needed political renovation than the *épuration des cadres* advocated by the author.

CHARLES A. MICAUD

French Historical Periodicals: Historians and librarians will find the following list useful. The information was compiled by M. René Rancoeur, librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Dr. Ford requested me to obtain information about French historical periodicals during my visit to France. The aim is to indicate what periodicals have continued publication throughout the period since 1939, those that have begun publication again, and those that appeared some of the time but have not yet reappeared. In view of the helpfulness of regional publications, it has seemed desirable to list them. Some titles supplied by M. Rancoeur have been omitted as relatively unknown to American scholars. Only titles of interest to historians have been included, since the list is already long, and inclusion of archaeology, religion, and other topics would increase the length. The classification is that of the transmitter, not of M. Rancoeur, whose list was alphabetical. A. *Publications that have appeared continuously since 1939:* Anjou historique; Annales de Bourgogne; Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux—Bulletin hispanique; Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance—Travaux et documents; Bulletin archéologique du Comité de Travaux historiques—Extrait des Procès-verbaux; Bulletin de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg; Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation du Bourbonnais; Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes d'Avallon; Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Vichy; Bulletin de la Société de Borda; Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord; Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne; Revue d'Auvergne; Revue d'histoire diplomatique; Revue de Comminges; Revue de l'histoire de Versailles et de Seine-et-Oise; Revue de la Haute-Auvergne; Revue du Bas-Poitou; Revue historique; Revue historique de Toulouse; Société d'histoire du Protestantisme français—Bulletin; Revue des lettres, sciences et arts du Saumurois; Vie spirituelle. B. *Publications that have reappeared:* (The dates in parenthesis indicate the years since 1939 when issues appeared. The second group [2.] have appeared only since 1944.) 1. Annales historiques de la Revolution française (1940, 46); Bulletin de la Société-académique de l'Aube (1943 on); Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de Nantes et de la Loire Inférieure (1940-42, 43, 45, 46); Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie et historique du Limousin (1941-46); Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne (1943 on); Bulletin de la Société des amis de Meudon-Bellevue (1941-46); Cahiers de Neuilly (1941 on); Économie et Humanisme (1942 on); Revue d'histoire de la philosophie et d'histoire générale de la civilisation (1942-44, 46); Société des historiens du Théâtre (1940-43, 46); Terres d'Afrique (1944 on); Académie des sciences coloniales: Comptes rendus des séances (1941 on). 2. Académie de Marine-Communications et Mémoires (Jan., 1945); Age d'or-Etudes (Oct., 1945); America-Cahiers France-Amérique latine (July, 1945); Cahiers de la Nouvelle Époque (Sept., 1945); Cahiers de Savoie (new title of Revue de Savoie; Mar.-Apr., 1945); Cahiers du Monde nouveau (June-July, 1945);

Cahiers du Nord (Dec., 1944); Cahiers du Rhin (Jan., 1945); Documentation catholique (Sept., 1944); Esprit (Dec., 1944); Essais et Etudes universitaires (May, 1945; clandestinely before); Europe (Jan., 1946); France intérieure (July, 1944; clandestinely before); Lettres françaises (Sept., 1944); Ministère de l'information—Notes documentaires et Etudes (Jan., 1945); Monde français (Sept., 1945); Pensée (Nov., 1944); Politique étrangère (Feb., 1946); Renaissance (1943 in Alger; Oct., 1944, in France); Revue de la Table ronde (Jan., 1945); Revue de Paris (Apr., 1945); Revue des Questions de Défense Nationale (July, 1945); Revue du Moyen Age latin (Feb., 1945); Revue historique de l'Armée (July, 1945); Revue politique et parlementaire (Jan., 1946); Société d'histoire moderne—Bulletin (1946); Table ronde (1944); Temps modernes (Oct., 1945); Travaux et Documents (May, 1945); Univers français (May, 1945); Université libre (Aug., 1944, clandestinely before); Vie intellectuelle (Jan., 1945); Critique, revue générale des publications françaises et étrangères (June, 1946).

C. Publications that appeared since 1939, but have not reappeared: (The dates in parenthesis are the years when the review appeared.) Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes-rendus (1940-45); Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Besançon (1940-43); Actes de l'Académie nationale de Bordeaux (1939-43, 1 vol.); Amis du Vieux-Chinon (1941-43); Amis du Vieux Toulon (1940-43); Andegaviana (1941); Annales d'histoire sociale (1940-41; Mélanges d'histoire sociale, 1942-44; old title, 1945); Annales de Bretagne (1940-45); Annales de l'Académie de Macon (1940-43); Annales de l'Université de Grenoble (1940-44); Annales de l'Université de Montpellier et du Languedoc (1943-45); Annales de la Faculté des lettres d'Aix (1940-44); Annales du Midi (1940-42); Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age (1941-42); Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes (1940-44); Bulletin de l'Académie des sciences et lettres de Montpellier (1940-43); Bulletin de l'Académie du Var (1941); Bulletin de la Commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne (1940-45); Bulletin de la fédération des sociétés savantes de Maine-et-Loire (1942-43); Bulletin de la Société académique des Hautes-Pyrénées (1941-45); *idem* (this will be used to indicate Bulletin de la Société), historique et archéologique de Touraine (1940-44); *idem*, d'histoire et d'archéologie du Gers (1940-45); *idem*, d'études historiques des Hautes-Alpes (1940-44); *idem*, d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis (1943-45); *idem*, de l'histoire de France (1940-44); *idem*, d'histoire de Normandie (1940-41); *idem*, de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France (1940-43); *idem*, des antiquaires de la Morinie (1942-45); *idem*, des antiquaires de Normandie (1940-41); *idem*, des antiquaires de Picardie (1940-45); *idem*, des lettres, sciences et arts de Pau (1940-41); *idem*, Nivernaise des lettres (1941-42); *idem*, Normande d'Etudes préhistoriques (1941-44); *idem*, polymathique du Morbihan (1940-42); *idem*, scientifique et littéraires des Basses-Alpes (1940-43); *idem*, scientifique historique de la Corrèze (1940-44); Bulletin diocésain d'histoire et d'archéologie Quimper (1940-42); Bulletin historique du diocèse de Pamiers (1940-41); Bulletin historique, scientifique, littéraire de la Société académique du Puy (1943); Bulletin philologique et historique: Commission des travaux historiques et scientifiques (1940-43); Cahiers de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (1940-42); Etudes byzantines (under title of Echos d'Orient, 1940-42; new title, 1943-44); Gallia (1943-44); Hesperis (1941, 43); Institut Napoléon (1941-45); Journal des Savants (1940-45); Mélanges asiatiques (1940-41, then Journal asiatique, 1942); Mémoires de l'académie des sciences, arts et belles lettres de Dijon (1940-42); Mémoires de l'académie des sciences, lettres et arts d'Arras (1942-44); Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture de l'Aube (1939-42); *idem* (Mémoires de la Société), académique du Nivernais (1940-45), *idem*, d'Emulation du Doubs (1940-43); *idem*, d'Emulation du Jura (1940-43); *idem*, d'histoire et archéologie de Bretagne (1940-45); *idem*, d'histoire de Châlon-sur-Saône (1940-43); *idem*, des arts de Carcas-

sonne (1941-43); *idem*, des lettres, sciences, et arts de l'Aveyron (1942); *idem*, de la société Eduenne (1942-45); *idem*, historique de Pontoise (1942-45); Mémoires et documents publiés par l'académie Chablaisienne (1942-43); Mémoires et documents publiés de l'académie Salesienne (1940-43); Moyen Age (1940-41); Nice historique (1940-45); Province du Maine (1940-43); Recueil de l'académie de Montauban (1940-41, 43); Revue africaine (1941-44); Revue d'Assyriologie (1940-44?); Revue de l'Eglise de France (1940-45); Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse (1940-45); Revue d'histoire comparé (formerly Etudes hongroises, 1943); Revue d'histoire militaire (1942); Revue de l'Académie du Centre (1941-44); Revue de l'Armée française (1942); Revue de l'Avranchin (1940-45); Revue de l'histoire des religions (1940-44); Revue de Saintonge et d'Aunis (1940-41, 43); Revue de Savoie (1940-44); Revue de Synthèse (1940-45, 1 no.); Revue des deux mondes (1940-44); Revue des études grecques (1940, 42, 43); Revue des études latines (1940-45); Revue des études semitiques et Babyloniaca (1940-42, 45); Revue des études slaves (1942, 44); Revue des études historiques (1940-44, 1 no.); Revue du Vivarais (1940-42); Revue du Tarn (1943-45); Revue historique de Bordeaux (1940-44); Revue historique du Rouergue (1940-44); Revue historique et archéologique du Béarnais (1940-41); *idem*, du Libournais (1940-45); *idem*, du Maine (1940-45); Revue Hittite et Asiatique (1941, 42); Revue savoisiennne (1941-43, 45); Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais (1940-42); Société d'Emulation historique et littéraire d'Abbéville (1942-44); Société d'Etudes de la Province de Cambrai—Bulletin (1940-45); Société des sciences et lettres de Cholet (1942); Société des sciences, lettres et arts de Bayonne (1940-44); Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne (1940-44); Société historique et archéologique de la Charente—Bulletin mensuel (1940-43); Société historique et archéologique de St. Emilion (1940-42); Var historique et géographique (1940-44); Vivre et Penser—Recherches d'Exegèse et d'histoire (formerly Revue biblique, 1941-42, 45). The Revue d'histoire moderne has not yet reappeared. The Société d'histoire moderne is raising funds to enable it to start publication again. [Since the above list was compiled, current issues have been received of the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes and of the Annales d'histoire sociale, with its new title, Annales—économies, sociétés, civilisations. Editor's note.]

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

- LES DROITS DE LA CITE: LES CATHOLIQUES-DEMOCRATES ET LA DEFENSE DE NOS FRANCHISES COMMUNALES, 1833-1836. By *Henri Haag*. [Evénements et Personnages de notre histoire nationale (Anciens Pays-Bas et Bel-

gique): Collection sous la direction de L. van der Essen, professeur à l'Université de Louvain.] (Bruxelles, Editions Universitaires, Les Presses de Belgique, 1946, pp. 203.) In 1833, Leopold I of Belgium, in an attempt to increase an executive power left inconveniently vague by the new constitution, sought the right to appoint *bourgmestres* and local magistrates, to dissolve communal councils at will and to exercise jurisdiction over communal secretaries. These demands aroused the immediate opposition of Catholics and liberal democrats and touched off a constitutional conflict which lasted for three years and was resolved only by the passage of the *loi communale* of 1836. M. Haag's monograph is the first detailed study of the passage of that fundamental law, and the major part of it is devoted to a skillful description of the successful tactics employed by the parliamentary opposition in their defense of local autonomy against royal encroachment. The author has not, however, restricted himself wholly to an account of the debate itself. In a careful analysis of underlying economic and social issues, he describes the fundamental conflict between aristocracy and middle class in Belgium and demonstrates its bearing upon the constitutional issue. Moreover, despite his enthusiasm for the defenders of traditional communal liberties, he has not neglected to give a just appraisal of Leopold's intentions, and he recognizes the skill with which the king conducted his case in parliament and in the country at large. To enhance his position at the expense of a constitution which he regarded as absurd, Leopold used all the political shrewdness which he had derived from his friendship with Stockmar and, although his full desires were never satisfied, the determination with which he waged his campaign helped consolidate his position in his adopted country. In addition to the official and party journals and the extensive printed materials, M. Haag has had access to the archives of the archbishop of Malines and the bishop of Gand and to manuscript collections in Brussels, Onthaine, and Velm. These throw new light upon the role of the Belgian church in the constitutional history of the time, and M. Haag has some interesting notes on Leopold's unsuccessful attempt to persuade the papal see to overcome local religious opposition to his designs.

GORDON A. CRAIG

THE NETHERLANDS DURING GERMAN OCCUPATION. Edited by *Nicolaas Wilhelmus Posthumus*. (Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1946, pp. 236, cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

REPERTORIUM VAN BOEKEN EN TIJDSCHRIFTARTIKELEN BETREFFENDE DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN NEDERLAND VERSCHENEN IN HET JAAR 1940. By *Aleida Gast* and *N. B. Tenhaeff*. (Groningen, Noordhoff, 1943, pp. 209.) REPERTORIUM . . . 1941. By *Aleida Gast*. (Leiden, Brill, 1946, pp. 180.) The present annual bibliography of Dutch history is a continuation of the well-known *Repertorium* by Petit and at the same time a supplement to the annual *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*. Unlike the old *Repertorium*, of which a fifth and final volume, covering the years 1930-1939, is being prepared, the new bibliography includes separately published works as well as periodical articles; but as a supplement to the *International Bibliography*, it confines itself to books and articles published in the Netherlands. The arrangement is classified. An author index, an index to personal names, and a list of the indexed periodicals add to the usefulness of this valuable tool for historical research.

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(Articles on Belgium will be listed in the April issue.)

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

L'OPERA POLITICA DEL CONTE DI CAVOUR. Parte I (1848-1857). In two volumes. By *Adolfo Omodeo*. ["Documenti di Storia Italiana," Nuova Serie, Sotto gli Auspici dell'Ente Nazionale di Cultura.] (3d ed., Firenze, "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1945, pp. 301, 259, 400 l. each.) In this, the first part of what was planned to be a political biography of Cavour from 1848 to 1861, a distinguished Italian historian (who died in April, 1946) has made an outstanding contribution to the literature on the famous statesman. Based on a fresh and searching examination of unpublished and published sources, these volumes, besides covering familiar ground, afford an intimate and penetrating view of some of the lesser-known aspects of Cavour's work with respect to internal Piedmontese politics, the evolution and improvement of the Piedmontese ruling class, the formation of the "Connubio," the relations between church and state (here Omodeo brings to bear his exceptional knowledge of religious and ecclesiastical problems), and the role of Mazzini in complementing rather than thwarting his policies. Omodeo's work is also noteworthy as an example of the flowering of Croce's historiography, the growing preoccupation with the problems rather than with the chronicle of the Risorgimento, and the persistence with which able and independent minds continued their scholarly activities during the Fascist regime.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

REFERATY NAUCHNO-ISSLEDOVATEL'SKIKH RABOT ZA 1944 GOD. OTDEL ISTORII I FILOSOPII [abstracts of research studies for 1944 of the Department of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR]. (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1945, pp. 62, 5 r.) An indispensable source for the study of the progress of historical scholarship in Soviet Russia. The pamphlet lists and analyzes the contents of a considerable number of historical monographs prepared by Soviet historians in 1944 and the preceding years and still awaiting publication.

ISTORIJA DIPLOMATII [history of diplomacy]. Edited by V. P. Potemkin. Volumes II and III. (Moscow, Ogiz Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1945, pp. 423, 883, 8 r., 13 r.) The first volume of this reinterpretation of the diplomacy of all peoples and times allegedly from the Marxist point of view appeared in 1941 and is now available also in a French edition. The publication of two new volumes cover-

ing the years 1872-1919 and the period between the two world wars brings to a conclusion this ambitious enterprise, which pursues both political and scholarly aims and is meant for the professional historian as well as for the Soviet lay reader. The various chapters were contributed to the second volume by the historians V. M. Khvostov and I. I. Mints and to the third volume by I. I. Mints, A. M. Pankratova, V. P. Potemkin, E. V. Tarle, and N. P. Kolchanovskii.

THE BEGINNINGS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY: AN ENQUIRY INTO SOURCES.

By N. K. Chadwick, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. xi, 180, \$2.75.) Mrs. Chadwick's book is an attempt to re-examine the main sources of early Russian history and to accentuate, on this basis, certain important trends in the growth of the Kievan state. Her main theme is the meeting of East and West on the Russian soil—the interrelation between the Scandinavian and the Turkic elements in the history of the early Kievan state. The lure of the Orient comes to the fore in her book as one of the primary factors of the Viking expansion in Russia. However, Mrs. Chadwick does not overestimate the role of the Norse element in Russian history. In her opinion, there is enough evidence to assume "the existence of . . . early pre-Norse communities" in Russia. "Viewed in their true perspective the Scandinavians are merely an episode in Russian history, though admittedly a very important episode" (p. 13). As may be expected, the author pays considerable attention to the problem of the interrelation between the Varangian saga and the Russian Primary Chronicle (*Povest'*). It is somewhat disappointing, however, that the author makes little effort to analyze the history of the text of the Primary Chronicle itself. Following S. H. Cross and disregarding the works of A. A. Shakhmatov and of a number of other Russian scholars, she makes the final edition of the *Povest'* her starting point. Even so, there are several variants of the *Povest'*, and while the author is aware of this fact (p. 5), she apparently has not paid sufficient attention to the Hypatian version. She says, for example, that the Russian campaign against the Cumans, which is mentioned as ca. 1103 in the Laurentian version, is, in the Hypatian, dated in 1111 (p. 127 n. 1). As a matter of fact, in the Hypatian version two campaigns are recorded, one dated in 1103 and the other in 1111. The author's analysis of the Norse elements in Russian paganism is very illuminating even if not always convincing. Her derivation of the name of the Russian god Khors from the Anglo-Saxon *hors*, Old Norse *hross*, "a horse" (p. 89), is unacceptable, in any case to the reviewer. There are some other points in Mrs. Chadwick's book open to criticism. For example, Prince Mstislav, killed in 1099, was the son of Sviatopolk and not of Vladimir Monomakh as she thinks (p. 127). Taken as a whole, Mrs. Chadwick's study is full of interesting and stimulating suggestions, and while not all of them may be valid, her book certainly is a welcome contribution to the field of medieval Russian studies.

GEORGE VERNADSKY

OBRAZOVANIE DREVNERUSSKOGO GOSUDARSTVA [the origins of the Old Russian state]. By V. V. Mavrodin. (Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Ordena Lenina Universiteta, 1945, pp. 437.) Early Russia continues to be one of the chief preoccupations of historical research in the Soviet Union.

NATSIONAL'NOE SAMOSOZNANIE DREVNEI RUSI [national consciousness in Old Russia]. By D. S. Likhachev. (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1945, pp. 118, 8 r.) Though included in a popular series, the study, utilizing historical and literary sources, throws new and interesting light on the early pages of Russian national thinking.

GOSUDARSTVENNYE KREST'IANE I REFORMA P. D. KISELEVA [state peasants and the changes introduced by the reform of Kiselev]. By *N. M. Druzhinin*, Volume I. (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1946, pp. 636, 40 r.) A most valuable contribution to the yet unwritten history of Russian peasantry, based on years of study and research in the Russian archives.

THE POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: HISTORY AND PROSPECTS. By *Frank Lorimer*. (Geneva, League of Nations, Economic, Financial and Transit Department [Princeton University Press], 1946, pp. xiv, 289.)

BARTOLOMEJ PAPROCKI A ZLOHOL A PAPROCKÉ VULE. By *Karel Krejčí*. (Prague, Slovanský ústav, 1946, pp. 270, 100 Kč.) A scholarly and erudite survey of the life and letters of the famous Polish historian and novelist.

EDVARD BENEŠ FILOSOOF DEMOCRACIE. By *František M. Hník*. (Prague, Melantrich, 1946, pp. 205, 90 Kč.) A comprehensive study of President Benes' scholarly and political theories.

NAŠE VEC. By *Eduard Táborský*. (Prague, Melantrich, 1946, pp. 220, 110 Kč.) An elaborate presentation of the thesis that Czechoslovakia's independence continued, legally, after Munich and that its sovereignty rested with President Benes' government in London. Includes interesting documentary material on international relations during World War II.

The Slavonic Institute of Prague, which renewed its activities soon after the liberation, plans to renew the publication of *Slavia*, a journal of Slavic philology, and *Byzantinoslavica*, which will be printed in several languages.

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ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE SUMA ORIENTAL OF TOME PIRES: AN ACCOUNT OF THE EAST, FROM THE RED SEA TO JAPAN, WRITTEN IN MALACCA AND INDIA IN 1512-1515, AND THE BOOK OF FRANCISCO RODRIGUES RUTTER OF A VOYAGE IN THE RED SEA, NAUTICAL RULES, ALMANACK AND MAPS, WRITTEN AND DRAWN IN THE EAST BEFORE 1515. Two volumes. Translated from the Portuguese MS in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris, and edited by Armando Cortesão. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Nos. LXXXIX, XC.] (London, Hakluyt Society, distributed by Bernard Quaritch, 1944, pp. xcvi, 228, 229-578, £3. 1s., \$15.00 for both.) It is extraordinary that the Hakluyt Society, which has published so many notable geographical works, should be able even now to furnish the English-speaking world with two sixteenth century descriptions of Asia which have remained virtually unknown until our time. Bound together in 178 folios, these manuscripts were found in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris, in 1937, by Armando Cortesão, who has translated them into excellent English. The Portuguese texts of both works appear in Volume II in the original order; but in the translation the order is reversed—the *Suma Oriental* coming first, owing to its greater importance. To be sure, the *Suma* was translated in part by Ramusio and published in Venice in 1550, but Ramusio was unable to give the name of the author; moreover, there is a partial copy of the *Suma* in Lisbon, but also without name of author. Now, for the first time, we have a scholarly, carefully annotated edition of both works—published together because they were written about the same time, and because the maps and drawings in Rodrigues' *Book* supplement admirably the economic and historical data in the *Suma*. Born about 1468, Tomé Pires reached Malacca in the summer of 1512, remaining there about three years as accountant and apothecary. Chosen, for his merits, to be the first Portuguese ambassador to China, he arrived in Canton in the ships of Fernão Andrade in 1517. The ships sailed away, hoping to call for him and his seven companions a year or so later. After many vexatious delays on the part of the Chinese—evoked, it seems, by the arrogance of the Portuguese sailors in the Canton area and by Chinese suspicions of Portuguese intentions in Malacca—Pires finally set off for Peking, where he was rather badly received. Unfortunately, none of his known writings about his experiences in China appears in the present volumes. But from letters of other travelers and from information gleaned by the translator from many sources, it appears that he died in China, in northern Kiangsu province, about the year 1540. His *Suma Oriental* is a work of enduring importance; it has the merit of being the first European description of Malasia, with details which, as the translator justly says, were not surpassed for a century and more after his time.

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE: BEING LETTERS WHICH PASSED BETWEEN SOME OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS AND INDIAN

RULERS AND NOTABLES. Volume VII, 1785-7. (New Delhi, Imperial Record Department, 1940, pp. xv, 468, xxxvii.)

RECORDS IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES. Volume I, BENGALI LETTERS. Edited by S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. (Calcutta, Calcutta University for the Government of India, 1942, pp. 285, 99.) In Bengali, with English synopses and a list of biographical and geographical notes. These letters show the cost in death and desolation to the natives of the wavering policy of the British India Company governors concerning expansion east of Bengal. It meant misery and suffering to the unfortunate people of Manipur, Cachar, and Assam and the whole Brahmaputra valley. The period covered is roughly 1780-1820.

BRITISH RULE IN BURMA, 1824-1942. By G. E. Harvey, late Indian Civil Service. (London, Faber and Faber, 1946, pp. 100, 10s. 6d.) From 1912 to 1934 Godfrey Eric Harvey served in Burma under the Indian Civil Service. During this time he not only developed a keen understanding of the peoples within Burma but also gathered material about their history and culture which was incorporated in his earlier monumental history—*History of Burma, from the Earliest Times to 10 March 1824, the Beginning of the English Conquest* (London, 1925). The present volume is a continuation of that historical account, presenting the developments which have occurred in Burma from the time of the first Anglo-Burmese war, when British rule was established in 1824, to the recent Japanese occupation of the country a few years ago. The account is in the main a record of the important political and economic trends in Burma as told in the sections dealing with "Land Alienation," "Agricultural Debt," "The Revenue," "Trade and Industry," "The 1931 Rebellion," "Local Government," "The 1937 Constitution and Politics 1937-42." The current social trends are touched upon lightly in the sections entitled "Structure of Society," "The Buddhist Church," "Crime," "Public Health and Education." Into this small volume the author has packed a wealth of information. It is an excellent skeleton outline of material which Mr. Harvey or some other Burma historian might expand considerably. One misses, however, a fuller documentation and possible appendixes, tables, and a bibliography. Taken as a whole the volume is good and will be a serviceable addition to the valuable reference books dealing with Burma. CECIL HOBBS

CHINA A MODEL FOR EUROPE. By Lewis A. Maverick. Two volumes bound in one. (San Antonio, Paul Anderson, 1946, pp. xi, 334.) For the past decade or more Professor Maverick has been doing productive work on the subject of Chinese influence upon European political and economic thought during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the first of the two volumes of the work under review is a summation and expansion of articles published between 1938 and 1942 in several learned publications. Here he traces the growth in western Europe—especially in France—of knowledge about and interest in China from the time of the earliest Jesuit missionary reports down to the eve of the French Revolution. Included in this first volume are two appendixes: one comprising extracts from the Book of Mencius, which was made available to European scholars in complete form in 1711, the other containing a brief biographical sketch of the Chinese Christian scholar Hsü Kuang-ch'i (1562-1633) and selections from his classical *Treatise on Agriculture*. The second volume, after a brief introductory note on François Quesnay, gives us a translation of Quesnay's "Le despotisme de la Chine," an essay which appeared in 1787 and which, as Professor Maverick points out, was lifted almost verbatim from an earlier work by Rousselot de Surgy. An excellent fourteen-page bibliography lists most, if not

all, of the important seventeenth and eighteenth century writings bearing on the subject together with the works of nineteenth century scholars relating to it. On the record as presented by Professor Maverick, China and things Chinese provided the eighteenth century physiocrats with topics for endless discussion. And yet, for the most part, the political philosophers of the Enlightenment seem to have regarded China primarily as an arsenal from which they could draw supporting evidence for their own pet ideologies. Turgot, it is true, approached Chinese political and social institutions with a scholarly and inquiring mind, as is evidenced by his attempt in 1765 to secure through two young Chinese Jesuits, who were returning to China after study in France, reports in reply to a list of questions bearing upon political, social, and economic conditions. But de Surgy, Quesnay, and others, seeming to find in China perfect exemplification both of natural law and natural religion, extolled the Chinese social and political system as a model which could profitably be imitated by the countries of Europe. Montesquieu, believing that no "despotic" government could ever be other than evil, selected from the available reports such facts as would support him in a sweeping condemnation of the whole Chinese state. Rousseau, holding to his thesis that only primitive governments are good, arrived at the conclusion that China's government, although it had certain good points, could not be really satisfactory. And so, at the end of the volume, the reviewer still finds himself wondering just how China influenced eighteenth century Europe.

G. NYE STEIGER

SUN YAT-SEN: A PORTRAIT. By *Stephen Chen* and *Robert Payne*. [An Asia Press Book.] (New York, John Day, 1946, pp. 242, \$3.00.) Robert Payne's brief portrait of Sun Yat-sen, addressed to the general reader, is a welcome addition to our all too scanty literature in English on the father of the Chinese Revolution. Though not adding greatly to our knowledge, it is a fresh and balanced interpretation of Sun Yat-sen's career. Previous notable studies of Dr. Sun include: Bishop H. B. Restarick's *Sun Yat-sen, Liberator of China* (1931), dealing principally with Sun's early career; Lyon Sharman's *Sun Yat-sen, His Life and Its Meaning* (1934), which still remains the closest approach to a definitive study; and Bernard Martin's *Strange Vigour* (1944), which made use of the Cantlie papers and British press notices. The still earlier studies by James Cantlie and C. Sheridan Jones, *Sun Yat Sen and the Awakening of China* (1912), and Judge Paul Linebarger, *Sun Yat Sen and the Chinese Republic* (1925) are optimistic and eulogistic. Limitations which beset the biographer of Dr. Sun are many, and they are evident in the present study. Many of the collected sources on Dr. Sun's life were destroyed by a Japanese attack on the Commercial Press at Shanghai. Papers preserved by the Sun family have not been opened. And finally, most contemporary Chinese witnesses to Sun's career are too deeply involved in the contemporary political struggle to speak with detachment or perspective. Payne's best chapter is his exposition and interpretation of the *San Min Chu I*, Three Principles of the People. Here there is the reminder that as China's woes increase, so does the need for the implementation of Sun's principles. There is likewise the implication that the foreign powers as well as the Kuomintang are doing violence to Sun's philosophy. He insisted that "the Chinese democratic government should have its roots in Chinese history and assume a purely Chinese complexion." It would seem, however, that today, as also in 1911 and 1912, the powers have no intention of permitting China to struggle toward her own destiny in her own way.

PAUL H. CLYDE

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

- SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT IN THE AMERICAN COLLEGES, 1638-1800. By *Theodore Hornberger*. [University Research Institute, Project No. 67.] (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1945, pp. 108, cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00.) This is a brief, unpretentious, but interesting and decidedly useful inquiry, by a professor of English, into a phase

of American scientific and intellectual development too long slighted by scientists and only just beginning to attract historians. The author bases his findings on long acquaintance with colonial literature and on a direct study of the entrance requirements, curriculums, textbooks, and published histories of our early colleges. Exhaustive, firsthand research into manuscript sources or into college archives is not attempted. Professor Hornberger thereby loses, for example, any advantage there might be in comparing the uncollected Yale theses and *quaestiones* with those lately made available by the distinguished Harvard historians. Yet, as Professor Shryock observes, this study assembles the evidence on a more comprehensive scale than was available before and interprets it with intelligence. According to Professor Hornberger, three stages are discernible in the scientific education of our forefathers: (1) the formative period at Harvard, 1638-1690; (2) "a transition period . . . from 1690 until approximately 1740, in which there were striking developments both at Harvard and at its younger rivals, Yale and William and Mary; and (3) finally, a period of established pattern, extending through the last sixty years of the eighteenth century, and during which the sciences were handled with surprising similarity both in the older colleges and in those newly established." In subject matter the progression was from elementary mathematics, through fluxions, physics, and astronomy, toward botany and zoology, chemistry, navigation, and geography. In method the colleges worked slowly away from a few recitations on belated versions of outdated European texts toward substantial lectures, demonstrations with respectable apparatus, and even a little direct observation. With rare exceptions neither students, tutors, nor professors in our eight colonial colleges made any original contributions. Laboratory and field work Professor Hornberger reserves for the nineteenth century. Yet his survey indicates that, after the coming of Newtonianism, science teaching gained a much stronger position in the colleges than has generally been realized. To the student of comparative civilization his data on the modernization of textbooks, on the acquisition of apparatus and the improvement of method, hint as well at a transition from lethargy to curiosity, at a battle against backwardness and cultural lag. Somewhere between the second and fifth decades of the eighteenth century, it would seem, began that effort to narrow the scientific gap between mother country and colony that was finally, but not until the twentieth century, to bring Americans to equality and to leadership.

GEORGE W. PIERSON

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, ASTRONOMER-PATRIOT, 1732-1796. By *Edward Ford*. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946, pp. viii, 226, \$2.50.) The biography of David Rittenhouse has been long overdue, and the author and publisher of this brief but excellent life are to be congratulated. Had Rittenhouse lived in New England, he would doubtless have had a definitive biography long ago. Even now the longer and full-size life, written with a mature knowledge of political, intellectual, and scientific movements of the eighteenth century remains to be done. The task will be difficult. The many-sided Rittenhouse—mechanical genius, inventor, mathematician, physicist, world famous astronomer, and last but by no means least, patriot and statesman, shoulder high with Franklin and Jefferson among "Rebels and Gentlemen," will call for exceptional knowledge and training on the part of the biographer. Added to this is the relative paucity of sources to which the author draws attention. Unlike Franklin and Jefferson, Rittenhouse did not write many letters. Whether for reasons of health, or because he preferred to occupy his hands in the making of clocks, orreries, and telescopes, he did not carry on a voluminous correspondence. There is no great single collection of his works, as is the case with Franklin at the American Philosophical Society, or Jefferson at the Library of Congress. Scattered as the sources are, however, Mr. Ford has sifted and

studied assiduously, using them with conscientious respect for accuracy and truth in the writing of this very readable, straightforward life of the self-taught Pennsylvania country boy who mastered Newton's *Principia* unaided and became the foremost astronomer of America and a peer among the scholars and scientists of the generation of Herschel, Maskelyne, La Place, La Lande, Voltaire, and the Encyclopedists. It is a fascinating story based on the record, without effort at romantic, imaginative writing so popular with biographers of the type of Strachey and Ludwig. At times there are touches of imaginative interpretation, as, for example, the incidental paragraphs on Rittenhouse's personal appearance, suggested by the portraits by Charles Willson Peale and the marble bust by Guiseppe Ceracchi. On the other hand, the author's sensitiveness to the value of portraits by contemporaries as historical source material makes the failure to identify the portrait used as a frontispiece, save in the table of contents, inexplicable, for the signature "Chas. W. Peale pinxit 1772" appears on the original in the old College Hall of the university of which Rittenhouse was a trustee and vice-provost. A spirited foreword is supplied by Dr. Thomas Cope, to whom the author acknowledges indebtedness for co-operation on the more distinctly scientific parts of the work. The tenth volume in the series of "Pennsylvania Lives," *David Rittenhouse* is one of the most significant that has thus far been published.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

LETTER-BOOK OF MARY STEAD PINCKNEY, NOVEMBER 14TH, 1796 TO AUGUST 29TH, 1797. With an Introduction by *Donald Muiridge*. Edited by *Charles F. McCombs*. (New York, Grolier Club, 1946, pp. vii, 116.) The letters of Mrs. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney presented in this little volume cover the portion of her husband's diplomatic mission to Europe from the time when he was at the mouth of the Garonne until his withdrawal from Paris to the Hague. They give a fascinating picture of life in the French capital under the Directory, when the reign of terror was fresh in men's minds. Mrs. Pinckney's comments on the fashions in women's dress, on the Paris opera, the shops, the costliness and chilliness of her lodgings, the boulevards, the Louvre, the public gardens are illuminating. She describes in some detail the episode in which the French government notified her husband that he would not be received as minister from the United States and that since he had no "card of hospitality" from the minister of police, he must not remain on French territory. It was Talleyrand, she thought, to whom the Americans had afforded hospitality in the days of his exile, who had convinced the French that they could treat the United States just as they did Genoa and Geneva. *The Letter-Book of Mary Stead Pinckney* will be welcomed by all who are interested in the history of Franco-American relations at a time when war between the two nations seemed imminent.

T. J. WERTENBAKER

LOWELL MASON: THE FATHER OF SINGING AMONG THE CHILDREN. By *Arthur Lowndes Rich*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946, pp. vii, 224, \$3.00.) This volume is a thorough study of the career of Lowell Mason (1792-1872), a musical missionary rather than a musician. He was a pioneer, the pioneer, in introducing the teaching of music into the public schools, with Boston as his starting point. In thus democratizing music and later in organizing national musical conventions for training teachers and in compiling singable tune books he made a noteworthy contribution to American culture. This study of Mason's career gives due emphasis to this broader aspect of his life and work.

STRATEGY IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Barron Deaderick*, Assistant Historian-in-Chief, Sons of Confederate Veterans. (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company,

1946, pp. 200, \$2.50.) This work accomplishes well what it set out to do, in presenting in brief, handbook form essential outlines of eleven major campaigns of the Civil War, with enough connecting material to constitute an intelligible outline of the military course of the war. As a study in strategy, it is to some extent lacking in consideration of the sources of supply and lines of transportation which had so much to do with the shape and sequence of events, but in this respect, it is not greatly different from other larger and more ambitious works. The author is assistant historian-in-chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, but the book is not a "Confederate" book. It presents the picture from both sides, without bias. It suggests that Lee was guilty of rashness in his invasion of Pennsylvania, as well as pointing out that Grant was unsound in his handling of the situation leading up to Shiloh. As to that most controversial battle, the work follows the traditional conception of Confederate defeat as due to the death of Johnston, the errors of Beauregard, and the timely arrival of Buell. A particularly useful feature of the book is a series of thumbnail sketches of principal participants on both sides. The sketch maps are simple and easy to follow but not always accurate, and the proofreading is distinctly substandard.

ROBERT S. HENRY

A VOLUNTEER'S ADVENTURES: A UNION CAPTAIN'S RECORD OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *John William De Forest*. Edited, with Notes, by *James H. Croushore*. With an Introduction by Stanley T. Williams. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, pp. xviii, 237, \$3.00.) This book furnishes the historian with no new facts about the Civil War, but it portrays the conditions encountered by the soldiers in the field and their physical and mental reactions with an accuracy and vividness which few historians approach. The writer was a Connecticut novelist, and his observations are recorded with all the vigorous realism for which his stories have been commended. A captain in the 12th Connecticut Volunteers, he served under Generals Butler, Weitzel, and Banks in the southwestern states, and under General Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. Accustomed formerly to all the comforts of life, he soon adapted himself with an old soldier's ingenuity and grimly humorous endurance to "a lazy, monotonous, sickening, murderous, unnatural, uncivilized mode of living"—his description of war. Whether he was in camp, in the heat of blistering marches, or under fire his mind was recording facts of interest which he wrote down as soon as possible, often on scraps of cartridge paper. These he expanded in long letters to his wife, and later made the basis for several magazine articles and finally for the manuscript which is now published for the first time. The narrative begins with an account of the "rolling and splashing Southward" trip by transport to the Gulf in February, 1862, and ends with a graphic picture of the battle of Cedar Creek in October, 1864. There are descriptions of the countryside, a fascinating novelty to men so recently from the snows of New England; of the whites, who never seemed to see them, and of the Negroes, who welcomed them; of bivouacs where the mosquitoes drew more blood than the cannonading; of meals on doughbread and blackberries; of the destruction of furniture, books, and paintings in mere wantonness; of pantaloons so stiff with mud and sweat that they would stand alone; of the agony of marching on blistered feet; of assaults and retreats; of fear in battle and of the glorious, if uncomfortable, fun of war. Comments on military personages are few but suggestive. His regimental commander, a former mayor of Hartford, the author portrays as "an amiable and gentlemanly man . . . too fat and gouty and elderly to command men." At an interview with General Butler he discovered that that officer was not "the grossly fat and altogether ugly man" of the illustrated weeklies, though he seemed less like an army officer than "like a politician who was coaxing for votes." Swarthy General

Phelps was something of a fanatic, hating the rebels bitterly not because they were rebellious but because they were slaveholders. General Banks was "the most merciless marcher of men he ever knew." Grant and Sheridan, seen talking together, are described as "undersized men, rather squarely built"; the latter with a distinctly Irish face of the puffy sort, swarthy grey complexion, and a silvery voice; the former, blond and sandy-bearded, his red-oak features perfectly inexpressive." It is not, however, description of campaigns and leaders that gives the narrative its value; it is its portrayal of what Northern soldiers encountered in the Civil War and their thoughts, feelings, words, and actions. As such it is both picturesque and reliable history.

HARRIS E. STARR

MEET THE U. S. A.: HANDBOOK FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Ching-kun Yang*. [Institute of International Education, Bulletin No. 2, Series No. 26.] (New York, Institute of International Education, 1945, pp. vii, 184, 50 cents.) This handbook will prove useful to foreign students in the United States because it furnishes information on various features of life in this country of interest to a young person from another country. It gives brief, simple, and enthusiastic impressions of the origins and achievements of American democracy, passes to descriptions of higher educational opportunities and difficulties in the United States, and ends with hints on such varied matters as table etiquette, social customs, and the cost of travel. The author's enthusiasm for life in the United States will no doubt win a warm response from many Americans. His uncritical acceptance of soap operas as faithful reflections of life in the United States is characteristic of a large part of the first six chapters. "They portray the average American so realistically that in listening to such programs we almost feel as though we are listening to the heartbeats of some of our own American friends" (p. 106). In the later chapters the information given is sometimes incomplete, as, for example, in a listing of opportunities for professional education which does not mention the very important field of social work (pp. 63-76). Social work is listed in the appendix, where material from another source is used, without credit to the source (pp. 146-70).

HAROLD BENJAMIN

THREESCORE YEARS AND TEN: A NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST SEVENTY YEARS OF ELI LILLY AND COMPANY, 1876-1946. By *Roscoe Collins Clark*. (Indianapolis, privately printed, 1946, pp. ix, 132.)

NOTHING TO FEAR: THE SELECTED ADDRESSES OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, 1932-1945. Edited, with an Introduction and Historical Notes, by *B. D. Zevin*. Foreword by Harry L. Hopkins. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946, pp. xxi, 470, \$3.75.) The volume is an excellent selection of some sixty of Mr. Roosevelt's many addresses during thirteen fateful years. The President's utterances and Mr. Zevin's notes are in themselves a way of presenting the history of the period.

FRONTIER ON THE POTOMAC. By *Jonathan Daniels*. (New York, Macmillan, 1946, pp. 262, \$2.75.) It takes real skill to stay chatty and flippant about contemporary Washington through two hundred and sixty-two pages. Mr. Daniels plumes himself on being just a reporter but any kind of chiel taking notes and as advantageously situated as was Mr. Daniels ought to have discovered something eternally worth while. If you like this kind of reporting, then this is what you like.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF BASARUAH, AND THREE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS. By *Joseph Morgan*. Edited with an Introduction by *Richard Schlatter*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946, pp. 172, \$4.00.) The Reverend Joseph Morgan, author of this allegory of man's fall and redemption, was born in Connecticut in 1671. In 1696 he was ordained a Congregational minister at Greenwich and until 1745 served as minister at various places in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. It was while he was Presbyterian minister at Freehold that he wrote the *History* and perhaps ten other works. He was a self-educated man, with some knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. With this one exception his writings were popularizations of orthodox theology. Dr. Schlatter, whose introduction contains a sketch of Morgan's life, also establishes Morgan as the author of the *History*. The work was published by William Bradford at Boston in 1715. Dr. Schlatter conjectures that Morgan concealed his authorship either because his critical flock would regard it as a frivolous pursuit or because he feared that the orthodoxy of some of his views might be questioned. The *History*, published a half century after Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*, reveals a liberalizing of the orthodox doctrine at several points, particularly with respect to infant damnation, the fate of the heathen, and the elect. However, for the historian, the *History* is most valuable as an exhibit of the Covenant theology. Morgan acknowledges his indebtedness to Bunyan, whose *Holy War* is mentioned in the text. Like Bunyan, Morgan manages to write a good allegory. The symbols are easily grasped, the story is well knit, the action moves swiftly, the theological indoctrination is straightforward and not at all awkward, and Morgan's Puritan "plain style" does credit to a self-educated backwoods minister. The editor's introduction is entirely satisfactory.

JOHN E. POMFRET

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1722-1725 WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume VII.] (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1945, pp. x, 706, \$5.00.) If one wishes to form a personal, dependable opinion about early New Englanders, the best easy way to go about it is to read the lives of the contemporary students at Harvard College. There are 989 of these dealing with men who received collegiate instruction of varying sorts and duration between 1638 and 1725, printed in seven volumes between 1873 and 1946 and known as *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*. It may be objected that these were evidently the upper crust of the community, but it should be recalled that the original Mayflower brought a quota of dockside roustabouts, and that while the first Irishman officially recognized by Harvard is named Adams, it graduated a Maccarty in 1791 whose father is not known to have told, if he was asked, where he came from. The dilution of the Puritan stock of 1630 began by 1634, to a degree that has apparently never greatly varied. The first thousand Harvard students did more than any other group to mold the community down to the American Revolution. Data regarding these men began to be collected by John Langdon Sibley in 1841, and he published his third volume on the first 301 of them in 1885. He died in that year, leaving his property to a wife who took good care of it, so that when it reverted on her death in 1902 to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to be used for the continuation of his lifelong interest, it amounted to upwards of \$150,000, grown from his parental inheritance of \$5,000. It was more than a quarter of a century later that the society was further endowed with the services of a competent person to carry on this work. The first of his volumes appeared in 1933 and the fourth, dealing with the 170 students of 1722-1725, this year. He is proving that he is ideally endowed for the task. He lives in the old New England way in an uncontaminated Massachusetts village, where he finds time to attend to the chores of civic and church as well as household duties, while keeping his desk reasonably clear as librarian of the American Antiquarian Society and looking after the Harvard archive room. A rough comparison of Mr. Shipton's first and latest volumes shows what these have to tell historical readers. The 154 students who began to break college windows in 1686 and graduated during the last seventeenth century decade were sixteen less in number than those of the five classes that graduated in 1721-25, the classes more than doubling in size in the third of a century. Eighty-four of those in college in the earlier decade, roughly half, took to preaching as against sixty-six, two fifths in five years, after another quarter century. In the earlier period twenty-six went into merchandizing with varying results, and in the later thirty-two. An equal number (24-23) devoted themselves chiefly to public services of assorted personal and communal advantages. A considerable proportion took to teaching while they were in the group of cheap help, in both periods, but stabilizing of opportunities and better organizing of communal life probably share in accounting for the discrepancy (three earlier and fourteen later) in the number that remained or reverted to teaching. A significant change is the increase from eight to thirteen in the number that devoted themselves to the practice of medicine. Equally suggestive is the fact that in the earlier decade there were only six students whose early death left virtually nothing to be written about them: this number becomes eighteen in the latest volume. The number of Harvard men who lived lives as gentlemen of property was roughly the same, three and four, but as the time is halved, this means that the number of large estates doubled in the third of a century. This bears out a belief based on multiple evidence that the opening decades of the eighteenth century—the decades that produced Benjamin Franklin—were on the whole the greatest epoch in New England annals.

GEORGE P. WINSHIP

THE HOUSATONIC: PURITAN RIVER. By *Chard Powers Smith*. [The Rivers of America.] (New York, Rinehart, 1946, pp. x, 532, \$3.00.) This volume deals less with the river than with changing life in the valley stretching from the Massachusetts Berkshires to the Litchfield Hills of Connecticut. Writing for the general reader, Mr. Smith gives a graceful, chatty account of economic, religious, and intellectual history, conveying larger perspective by relating local trends to general currents. Social movements significantly treated include the rising of dispossessed, unpaid war veterans in the days of ex-Captain Daniel Shays (pp. 192 ff.); the conservative orthodoxy of Dwight and Lyman Beecher battling against revolutionary religious liberalism (pp. 216 ff.); the reform spirit in the temperance movement and anti-slavery, both undermining the defense of aristocratic ideas of depravity (pp. 229 f., 304 ff.). Relations of Indians and whites, the Christian Indians who were voting citizens of Stockbridge, the "Indian removal" westward, and the Connecticut-educated Cherokees who married white wives, are sympathetically treated (pp. 100 ff., 185 ff., 298 ff.). Chapters on industrial life contain sketches of colonial ironmasters and the nineteenth century boom which petered out when the Bessemer process and cheaper materials propelled the iron industry westward. Mr. Smith's sympathies are with farmers, common folk, and creative men of arts and letters. He does not lament the relative absence of ugly slums and factories in industrial towns which would "offend the landscape." He gently satirizes the Gilded Age invasion of the Berkshires by "the knights of the financial round table" who built ornate imitation castles where a generation earlier Bryant, Melville, Fanny Kemble, and summer residents like Hawthorne and Holmes had lived and worked in more appropriate simplicity. More to his liking is the sequel when the income tax and the crash of 1929 caused the disappearance of the bogus landed aristocracy and when a new summer immigration brought writers, artists, musicians, and teachers who contributed their vitality to valley life, developing musical festivals, summer theaters, and art colonies. The specialist will not find extensive documentation or solid factual details in this volume. Nevertheless, the book is rewarding as a reflection of general history through the history of a single locality.

S. H. BROCKUNIER

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY. Volume Nine, 1944. (Fogelsville, Pa., the Society, 1946, pp. 241, \$3.50.) This, the ninth volume of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, presents as its major contribution a scholarly and well-written account of the Palatines by Frank E. Lichtenthaeler under the title "Storm Blown Seed of Schoharie." The activities of the twenty-two Pennsylvania German "*Versammlinge*" are reviewed and the reader is given samples of the dialect and of translations into the dialect of familiar poems and songs. Only someone to the manner born could read these selections with the right inflections but you cannot help smiling to and at yourself when you try to read them. They are infectious with jollity even when maltreated by one who has no "*hinner Grund fon da Penn-Deitcha*." Taking the same liberties with any other dialect, Scotch for example, would leave you defeated, discouraged, discomfited, and humiliated if any Scot were in earshot. The volume in paper, design, and print is an achievement in itself.

G.S.F.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE MANSIONS OF VIRGINIA, 1706-1776. By *Thomas Tileston Waterman*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946, pp. 456, \$10.00.) This highly opinionated work comprises one of the most valuable and exhaustive architectural treatises yet written on great pre-Revolutionary houses of Virginia and West Virginia. Devoid of sentimental embroidery the textual information is presented in a scholarly manner, the format is well designed, and the illustrations are excellent. The introductory chapter describes the transitional development of the English house from the picturesque medieval styles to the more formal interpretations of Renaissance, best expressed by the inspired designs of such architects as Jones, Wren, Gibbs, and the Adamsons. The four succeeding chapters deal successively with the seventeenth century, early Georgian, mid-Georgian, and late Georgian reflection of English building as found in Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia and in West Virginia. Starting with Greenspring, believed to be the earliest house of this important group, and ending with Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, the book illustrates and discusses in detail the architectural character of each of these fine houses. The liberal illustrations comprising well-selected photographs and drawings are paralleled, often superfluously, by detailed textual descriptions. Students of early American architecture and antiquarians will find of particular interest the author's able interpretation of the age and development of each house as evidenced by its architectural fabric. In most cases the text endeavors to identify the architect together with his graphic inspiration for the design, and to assign to the

house an English counterpart. The author's research has brought to light much new and important information concerning these great houses, some of which have long since disappeared, and early American architects about whose professional influence little was hitherto known. To historians of early American architecture, whose science demands documented facts, the hypothetical conjectural character of many conclusions drawn by the author will appear premature. Nevertheless, historians and laymen alike will applaud the scholarly organization and interpretation of the factual data presented.

STUART BARNETTE

THE FAMOUS CASE OF MYRA CLARK GAINES. By *Nolan B. Harmon, jr.* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1946, pp. xi, 481, \$3.50.) In this volume Mr. Harmon has written a sort of biography of a lawsuit. If that seems to put his book in the dry-as-dust category, I should hasten to add that it involves the life stories of two very interesting and very human characters. It is the record of a wealthy planter's love, sin, pride, and folly, and of a life struggle on the part of his daughter to claim his fortune. The narrative is built up chiefly from the legal records of what is one of the strangest and most fascinating cases in the history of American jurisprudence. There would have been no story worth recording but for the courage and persistence of Myra Clark Gaines. Born of an unannounced and almost unknown marriage, she grew to womanhood wholly ignorant of her heritage. Then, as a young wife, she set out to prove her legitimacy and establish her father's suppressed will, and the remainder of her life was spent in dogged pursuance of this cause. Any novel that carried a heroine through so many bitter defeats to ultimate triumph would be regarded as farfetched indeed. Fortunately, Mr. Harmon tells the story of the distinguished but loose-living Daniel Clark of old New Orleans and much of the story of his daughter before the legal battles begin. The tedious part of the book is the rehashing of these stories in the form of court evidence. There is far too much repetition; yet the final effect is to give a full and fair account of the famous case that plagued the United States Supreme Court, and many other courts, for more than sixty years. Mr. Harmon has done a straightforward job of narration, reporting, and analysis. Drawing of morals seems to be no part of his purpose. Yet the indecision, delay, and unmitigated prejudice which marked the handling of this case build up to a rather sour commentary on the quality of American justice in the nineteenth century. In the end Mrs. Gaines's judgment against the city of New Orleans for \$1,925,667 was whittled down to little more than one fourth that sum—substantially less than she had paid in costs and attorney fees. The irony of this net result almost overshadows the courage of the woman who threw everything she possessed and all the money she could marry into the prolonged legal battle for her rights.

MERLO J. PUSEY

ROBERT E. LEE IN TEXAS. By *Carl Coke Rister.* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1946, pp. xiii, 183, \$2.50.) Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee was stationed on the frontier of Texas for about two and a half years just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, with headquarters first at Camp Cooper and afterwards at San Antonio and Camp Mason. While at these ports he devoted his energies to acting as judge in several courts martial and to protecting the frontier against Mexican bandits and hostile, thieving Indians. His first term of service in Texas lasted from April, 1856, to October, 1857; the second from February, 1860, to February, 1861. In the interim between these two periods he was for almost the entire time off duty looking after his private affairs at his Arlington estate in Virginia. During this interlude his only military service was the putting down of John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry. One

wonders why the military authorities wasted a man of Lee's character and ability on the commonplace task to which he was assigned in Texas. General Scott had rated him as "America's very best soldier," and yet the work allotted to him could have been satisfactorily performed by an officer of ordinary ability. The one redeeming feature of the experience was the deepening of Lee's spiritual life and the general rounding out of his character which resulted from the abundant opportunity for meditation and introspection. The yearning for home occasioned by long absence from his family accentuated his love of Virginia and aided the final decision between his loyalty to the Union and his devotion to the old mother state. A full-length account of Lee's career in Texas is given in Dr. Rister's scholarly and well-written work. The book is attractively bound and printed and the style is clear and interesting, adorned in places with catchy phrases and expressions. To this reviewer, however, it seems that this relatively unimportant episode in Lee's career does not deserve so lengthy a treatment as an entire volume; an article for a historical magazine would have been enough. To extend the narrative to the dimensions of a book the author has given too much space to an account of a Mexican bandit and to detailed stories about Indians. The main contribution of the work is the additional evidence furnished of the grandeur of Lee's character. Although not a single outstanding achievement is recorded of his career in Texas, he walks through these pages as a great and good man.

O. P. CHITWOOD

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- NOTES ON GENERAL ASHLEY, THE OVERLAND TRAIL, AND SOUTH PASS. By Donald McKay Frost. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1944.] (Worcester, the Society, 1945, pp. 159, \$2.00.) This small but substantial contribution to the published body of original sources on the fur trade of the Far West, supplementary to Chittenden's monumental work, which has been in process of development over the past score of years, was inspired by the discovery of a series of newspaper letters by Daniel T. Potts, of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on the activities of a party of General Ashley's men in the Rocky Mountains, 1822-1827. The original intention was "to publish the Potts letters with annotations. This plan was abandoned for it soon became evident that the annotations would greatly exceed the letters." A proposal to paraphrase the letters was also rejected as giving "undue prominence to Potts who was but the inadvertent historian of an expedition . . . not only . . . organized by, but . . . conducted under the direction of General Ashley." It was therefore finally "determined to retell the story of General Ashley's activities in the fur trade with emphasis upon his adoption and use of the valley of the Platte River as a line of communication from St. Louis across the Continental Divide." A little over a third of the volume is usefully devoted to this narrative, but the student of the fur trade will probably be most pleased by the appendixes of extracts of fur-trade material, including the Potts letters, from the contemporary, particularly the Missouri, newspapers, 1822-1830, which, collected under the direction of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, of the American Antiquarian Society, occupy the remaining pages, and which appear, in the words of the editor, to have "exhausted the most likely newspaper sources" on the subject. A map and an index greatly add to the value of the volume.

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA COUNTRY: AN ISLAND ON THE LAND. By *Carey McWilliams*. [American Folkways, Edited by Erskine Caldwell.] (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946, pp. xii, 387, \$3.75.) Southern California, because somewhat climatically insulated and geographically walled, represents a subsection, or even a section, of the United States far more, for example, than does south Georgia. Its unique characteristics, long a favorite theme, at last have been tabulated, both the good and the bad, in this usable volume. The surveyed region lies south of Tehachapi; the capital "S" in "Southern" is borrowed from the All-Year Club. Suggested to be a "rurban" region, it is neither city nor country but a mixture of both. Its center is Los Angeles, "a collection of suburbs in search of a city" (p. 235) and "the richest agricultural county in America" (p. 236). Interesting details recount the recent history of the region: the search for water to meet a basic local weakness, labor-management disputes, politics, utopian schemes, the rise of agriculture and industry, the striking accelerations of growth of population, the movie industry. One of the best chapters discusses the citrus belt. Racial factors appear in many problems. Middlewestern Americans, Mexicans, Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, and others produce the pattern for what is termed "a slight case of cultural confusion." There are the immigrants, the tourists, "the realtors, the motion-picture tycoons, the fakirs, the fat widows, the non-descript clerks, the bewildered ex-farmers, the corrupt pension-plan schemers, the 'empire-builders,'" the author holding this fair region to deserve something better, in the way of inhabitants (p. 377). The "alien patrimony" is not European, but American. The author is himself an immigrant from Colorado. He sympathizes with the neophytes exploited by the Spanish missions, with labor, with the farmers adversely affected by the Owens Valley water project; and he stands opposed to many of the methods employed since 1880 to advance the region, "one of the greatest promotions the world has ever known." Overplayed is California's rivalry between native sons in the north, state societies in the south.

VERNON J. PURYEAR

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John J. Johnson

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RAFAEL MATOS DÍAZ. Algunos documentos referentes a la misión diplomática de don Pablo Pujol en los Estados Unidos de América. *Bol. Sec. Estado Relaciones Ext.* (Ciudad Trujillo), Dec., 1945.

JOSÉ MANUEL PÉREZ CABRERA. Una página desconocida de la historia de Cuba [1879]. *Rev. La Habana*, Aug.

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

EL PRIMER PLAN DE ESTUDIOS DE LA REAL UNIVERSIDAD DE SAN CARLOS DE CORDOBA, 1808-1815. Por *Carlos A. Luque Colombes*. [Universidad Nacional de Cordoba, Instituto de Estudios Americanistas, Cuaderno de Historia, XIII.] (Cordoba, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1945, pp. 45.)

THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF ARGENTINE FEDERALISM, 1820-1852. By *Miron Burgin*. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume LXXVIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946, pp. xiv, 304, \$4.00.) To explain the evolution of the Argentine Republic, no factor is more essential than the enduring conflict between *federalismo* and *unitarismo*. Many historians, Argentine and American, have described this struggle without full understanding of the complicated cross currents involved. Most of these have agreed upon the nature of the conflicting political ideologies and upon the paramount leadership of the province of Buenos Aires, but the relative influence of specific economic realities upon the alignment of opposing forces has awaited the careful study of *Miron Burgin*. The author has undertaken to dissect Argentine economy of the early nineteenth century, to subject each element to microscopic analysis, and to appraise its effect upon political and constitutional doctrine. Thus, he assesses the interests of those classes which saw the soundest basis of Argentine prosperity in one or another of the various sources of national wealth: cattle breeding, grain growing, commerce, or industry. He defines the attitude of each group toward interprovincial and overseas commerce, toward territorial expansion and population growth, toward land and financial policies. He painstakingly describes bitter controversies over problems of finance, especially banking and public debt, revenues and expenditures, and inflation and deficits. But the economic aspects of Argentine federalism were far more entangled than this. The cleavages among economic classes were bisected by other divisions. The province of Buenos Aires, often divided within, was generally united against the interior. The provinces of the Litoral allied themselves with either or rebelled against both. The Federals themselves rarely presented a united front, and, when the principal Federalist leader, Juan Manuel de Rosas, closed out his dictatorship in 1852, he was indicted as a "savage unitary." At the root of all these clashes were economic considerations. What Dr. Burgin has done, therefore, is to complicate, and at the same time to guide, the task of any who essay definitive analysis of Argentine federalism. At the same time, he has made it possible for all historians of Argentine politics—or diplomacy—to write with infinitely greater understanding and completeness. He has

also pointed the direction for other monographs on Argentine economy, both before and after the fall of Rosas.

HAROLD F. PETERSON

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TRES MOMENTOS EN LA CONTROVERSIA DE LIMITES DE GUAYANA. CLEVELAND Y LA DOCTRINA MONROE. By *Enrique Bernardo Nuñez*. (Caracas, Editorial Elite, 1945, pp. 108.)

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

July 1, 1947, will be the closing date for filing applications and manuscripts in the second annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of the American Historical Association. Worth \$1000, this fellowship is administered by the Association's Committee on the Beveridge Fund and is awarded for the best original manuscript, at least fifty per cent complete, dealing with the history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America.

The early resumption of the Anglo-American historical conference in London is highly desirable. Whether a meeting can be held in the summer of 1947 will depend on the presence in England of enough visiting American historical scholars. Any historical scholars expecting to be in England this coming summer are asked to communicate promptly with the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: two volumes of Birbeck family notes and clippings on English drama, 1685 to 1817, including a mutilated copy of the *London Gazette*, March 11-15, 1685, and a copy of the *Amsterdam*, September 10, 1773; twelve papers of or relating to the Peter Bounetheau family of Charleston, South Carolina, 1685 to 1897; two manuscript volumes entitled respectively "The Interregnum, Or, The Proceedings of the Lords of the Council and others from the withdrawing of King James to y^e meeting of y^e Convention, 1688," and "The arguments upon the Abdication of King James the 2^d 1688"; photostatic copy of letter from Samuel Ward at Newport to his daughter Kitty at Westerly, November 25, 1773; photostatic copy of letter from George Washington to Abraham Yates, September 8, 1776; certified copy of "Muster Roll of Captain Jacob Allens Company of the First Massachusetts Regiment Now in the Service of the United States Commanded by John Bailey Colonel. Taken to the First Day of Feb. 1778" signed by H. Sewall; about 1000 papers of the Alderson, Cary, Feamster, and Mathews families of Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, Kansas and Iowa, *ca.* 177[] to 1941, including a Civil War diary of Lieutenant Thomas L. Feamster, 1864 to 1865; commonplace book of Theodore Woodbridge, with diary entries August 26 to October 15, 1780; plat showing a division of "Kenhawa" [Kanawha] and Ohio lands among the heirs of George Washington; two boxes of papers relating to His Majesty's Ship *Spartan*, collected

by James Dunn, purser, *ca.* 1802 to 1840; fifty-four papers of the Blackman and Goodwin families, October 30, 1807, to December 5, 1879; photostatic copy of letter from James Monroe to Dr. John Bullus, May 9, 1811; letter from Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Richard Caton, January 19, 1813; microfilm of letters of Louis A. Cazenove to Eleuthera Dupont and to members of the Cazenove family, January 8, 1824, to April 2, 1848; eleven boxes of papers of William Medill, *ca.* 1828 to 1864; letter from Zachary Taylor to the Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, July 7, 1830; photostatic copy of letter from Andrew Jackson to Judge Robert M. Burton, May 14, 1835, with prospectus of John Reid's *Life of Major General Andrew Jackson*; negative photostat of letter from William Henry Harrison to Silas M. Stilwell, July 12, 1837; photostatic copies of six legal documents of, or pertaining to, Abraham Lincoln, October 5, 1838, to [1846]; letter from Daniel Mallory to Philip R. Fendall, October 31, 1839; letter from Gideon Welles to Mrs. Sarah Bacon, February 17, 1847; letter from Louisa Catherine [Mrs. John Quincy] Adams, May 11, 1848; diary of William H. Ash, October 13, 1848, to December 21, [1852?]; letter from Charles Francis Adams to E. A. Stansbury, Minthorne Tompkins, etc., Committee of Arrangements, New York, September 24, 1853; a daguerreotype copy of a miniature portrait of William C. C. Claiborne, and letter from Herbert A. Claiborne to John H. B. Latrobe, presenting the daguerreotype to Mrs. Latrobe, January 17, 1857; facsimile of letter from Abraham Lincoln to Richard Yates, September 30, 1857; four manuscript volumes written *ca.* 1860 to 1864 by Reverend Ethan Allen regarding early Maryland parish history; microfilm of scrapbook of clippings, mainly from Southern newspapers, 1860 to 1861; Civil War diary of Luther A. Rose, Union Army telegraph operator, May 8, 1861, to December, 1864, with later notes; letter from George B. McClellan to Edmund C. Stedman, March 17, 1862; letter to Thomas T. Burdick, Union soldier of Rhode Island, from his mother, June 6, 1862; additional papers of Elihu B. Washburne, consisting of fifty-five letter books, May 24, 1869, to March 1, 1876; rough autograph draft of letter from Ralph Waldo Emerson to Thomas Carlyle, January 23, 1870; thirty boxes of additional papers of Woodrow Wilson, 1872 to 1927; about seventy-five additional papers of William T. Sherman, consisting of papers relating to the publication of his *Memoirs*, January 21, 1875, to December 5, 1896; a small group of letters from Robert G. Ingersoll, Fitz John Porter, and J. Warren Keifer to George C. Hazelton, 1880 to 1916; two letters from Andrew Carnegie to Arthur P. Gorman, January, 1894, with type-script enclosure bearing Carnegie's autograph notes; additions to the Breckinridge family papers including letters of William C. P. Breckinridge, two diaries of Curry Desha Breckinridge and other papers; photostatic copies of letters to Theodore W. Noyes from Charles W. Fairbanks, April 8, 1909, and July 11, 1913, and from Thomas R. Marshall, May 17, 1913; six additional letters of Ellery C. Stowell, 1917 to 1944, and other papers; six boxes of papers of Roy H. Morrill, pertaining to the United States Shipping Board, 1918 to 1935; additional papers of Elihu Root

consisting of twenty-two volumes of calendar memorandum books, 1920 to 1937; thirty-five letters from Alfred Jay Nock to Frank W. Garrison, 1920 to 1944; twenty papers, mainly letters from members of the medical profession to Solomon R. Kagan, 1923 to 1946; autograph manuscript by Herbert Ernest Bates, "The Fuel Gatherers," [1928?]; letter from Marie L. Welch to Albert Bender, November 11, 1935, with typed copy of a poem "for Stella Benson"; two volumes of shorthand notes taken by Roy L. Whitman, Official Reporter of Debates of the House of Representatives, covering the addresses delivered before joint sessions of Congress, April 4, 1939, to May 19, 1943, and November 18, 1943, to July 1, 1946; eighty-one papers, including letters, which relate to the organization and activities of the "Share a Smoke Club, Inc.," 1939 to 1942; letter from Herbert Hoover to Ray Baker Harris, October 6, 1943 (restricted); typescript drafts, with notes and additions, of "Operation Crossroads," a CBS broadcast on atomic energy from the Coolidge Auditorium, Library of Congress, May 28, 1946; three additional papers of the Service Men's Art Center and Contact Bureau.

The War Department has recently transferred to the Library of Congress for storage and safekeeping a part of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut archives which were seized in Stuttgart by the American Military Government. Extensive files of newspapers, large quantities of correspondence and mimeographed materials, and a number of books and pamphlets are included in this collection. (See "The Deutsches Ausland-Institut," *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal*, August.)

At the request of President Truman the National Archives has started to compile a series of guides designed to assist government officials, scholars, and others in utilizing the record, including both archival materials and publications, of the government's experience in World War II. They will include a *Handbook of the Federal World War II Agencies and Their Records*, inventories of significant records, bibliographies and lists of published and unpublished materials of special interest, and an over-all guide on a subject basis. The program is under the direction of Philip M. Hamer, Records Control Officer of the National Archives, assisted by Christopher Crittenden, on leave from the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Donald Derby, Homer L. Calkin, William F. Ross, Martin P. Claussen, Nelson M. Blake, G. Philip Bauer, Seymour J. Pomrenze, and Philip P. Brower.

Justice Jackson has transferred to the National Archives his records as United States Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality. Included among them are photostats of documents used in the trial, a transcript of the proceedings, motion pictures offered in evidence, and sound recordings of the justice's opening statement at the trial and of the final statements of the defendants. In accordance with the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the clerk of the House of Rep-

representatives has begun to transfer to the National Archives the records of the House from the First to the Seventy-Sixth Congress, including bills and resolutions with their accompanying papers, presidential messages, reports and communications from executive agencies, petitions and memorials, and reports, correspondence, and work papers of committees. Among other recent accessions are journals of the Postmaster General, 1879-1940; records of the Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations, 1937-38; and part of the main files of the Military Intelligence Division, War Department General Staff, 1917-41. Records of World War II recently received include the central files and additional field records of the War Relocation Authority, 1942-46; the records of the American War Production Mission in China, 1944-45; the records of the Joint Committee to Investigate the Pearl Harbor Attack, 1945-46; the policy files of Edward R. Stettinius as Lend-Lease Administrator, 1941-43; and additional surrender documents signed by various Japanese field commanders, 1945.

All prospective users of the National Archives, whether scholars or government officials, will be grateful for the pamphlet *Your Government's Records in the National Archives*. It contains a condensed description and classification of the 700,000 cubic feet of documents in the National Archives as of June 30, 1945. The pamphlet was compiled by W. Brook Phillips under the supervision of Philip M. Hamer, Records Control Officer of the National Archives.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has received from the executors of the Roosevelt estate a number of papers from the late President's naval history collection. Among them are correspondence and other papers relating to Mr. Roosevelt's service as assistant secretary of the Navy from 1913 to 1920. These materials touch on every phase of his conduct of that office, including matters relating to national preparedness and the conduct of the war with Germany; the campaign to obtain binoculars and telescopes for the Navy; the management of the navy yards, with particular reference to wage disputes and other controversies; volunteer defense organizations; appointments, transfers, and promotions in the Navy; the obtaining of navy yard personnel; and his two trips to Europe in 1918-19. A body of miscellaneous manuscripts relating to the history of the Navy, including letters of and other documents concerning prominent Revolutionary War leaders and Navy secretaries of the period 1775-1865, was also received. Mrs. Roosevelt has given the library correspondence and other papers relating to her activities as delegate to the United Nations conference held in London in January, 1946. They include personal letters from the British people; agenda of conference meetings; lists of members; reports of proceedings; press releases, progress reports, and policy statements of the United States delegation; petitions, memorandums, and other papers regarding displaced persons; copies of articles and pamphlets on United Nations matters; official publications including the "Journal"; letters from

individuals and organizations on United Nation matters; and a scrapbook of clippings from British newspapers. She has also given the library a number of diary-notebooks kept by her late husband's father, James Roosevelt, sr., from 1881 to 1899 and a collection of documents relating to the family seat of her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Valentine G. Hall, at Tivoli, New York. Manuscript holdings now available to searchers, in addition to those announced last May, include papers relating to Mr. Roosevelt's service as assistant secretary of the Navy, 1913-20; the correspondence and other papers of Louis McHenry Howe while secretary to Mr. Roosevelt during his Navy Department period; and White House papers relating to education, 1933-39, the sugar-tariff question, 1933-39, labor legislation, 1937-39, and strikes, 1933-41. Manuscript materials more recently acquired by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library include the following items from the naval collection of the late President: the "commonplace book" of Lt. W. L. Brownlow, commander of United States Marines on the U.S.S. *Hornet*, 1866; letter book of David Conner, commander of the U.S. Schooner *Dolphin*, 1820-22, the U.S.S. *Erie*, 1829-30, and the U.S.S. *John Adams*, 1834; journal of a cruise on board the U.S.S. *Vincennes* in 1842-43, by Midshipman Joseph Parrish; and a six-page autobiographical sketch of Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, probably written about 1898. Mrs. Theodore Douglas Robinson presented to the library a body of correspondence, legal papers, and scrapbooks, relating to her father, James Roosevelt Roosevelt, half-brother of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Included are letters received by J. R. Roosevelt while he was secretary of the legation at Vienna and of the embassy at London from 1888 to 1896, four letterpress copybooks of letters written by him from 1893 to 1897, and letters received by him from 1909 to 1927. Of especial interest are a number of letters written to him by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1924 and 1925 with reference to the raising of funds for the building of the nave of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. The museum of the library, where family papers, historical manuscripts, papers of the late President, gifts presented to him, and art objects are on display, has proved immensely popular with the American public. Almost a quarter of a million people visited it during the months of July, August, and September.

By joint resolution the House and Senate in July authorized the printing of a revised edition of the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, "up to and including the Eightieth Congress (1774-1948)."

The Department of State is preparing to edit and publish the captured records of the German foreign office giving the inside story of the Nazi foreign policy. Professor Raymond Sontag of the University of California, assisted by Professor Chester V. Easum of the University of Wisconsin and Professor E. M. Carroll of Duke University, is in charge of the project.

Readers of the July issue will recall the review by Professor Alfred P. James of a three-volume work entitled *The Horn Papers: Early Westward Movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, 1765-1795*. The raised eyebrows with which Professor James viewed the contents of these purported sources were justified by a letter from Dr. Julian Boyd, also printed, which challenged the authenticity of large parts of the documentary materials and called for an investigation by a competent committee of historians. The director of the Institute of Early American History in Williamsburg, Virginia, announces that the Institute has arranged the appointment of such a committee and will underwrite its expenses. Mr. A. L. Moredock of the Greene County Historical Society, which published *The Horn Papers*, has promised to render all assistance possible. As the documents have to do with the history of the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia frontier, historical societies in these states have nominated representatives to serve on the committee on evaluation. They are as follows: Franklin F. Holbrook, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania; William B. Marye, Maryland Historical Society; Charles F. Jenkins, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Francis L. Berkeley, Virginia Historical Society; Lawrence Gipson, Pennsylvania Historical Association. In addition, Dr. Boyd will serve on the committee and the Institute will be represented by Douglass Adair and Lester J. Cappon. Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, will serve as chairman. The report of the committee will be published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* and in pamphlet form for wide distribution.

In addition to grants of demobilization awards to 164 young social scientists whose graduate studies for the doctorate had been interrupted by the war, the Social Science Research Council has appointed eleven fellows who will engage in postdoctoral studies or gain field experience in their special fields. Of the twenty-six awards which are grants-in-aid to mature scholars the following recipients are pursuing historical studies: Charles Fairman, professor of political science, Stanford University, completion of a study of the development of constitutional law, with special reference to the career of Mr. Joseph P. Bradley, Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, 1870-1892; Earl Wiley Hayter, associate professor of history, State Teachers College, DeKalb, Illinois, completion of a study of methods of land enclosure in the United States; Vernon H. Jensen, associate professor of economics, University of Colorado, completion of a history of labor relations in the nonferrous metals industry; Hildegard B. Johnson (renewal), completion of a study of German immigration to the Middle West during the nineteenth century; Shelby T. McCloy, professor of history, University of Kentucky, completion of a study of the humanitarian movement in eighteenth century France; Louise Overacker, professor of political science, Wellesley College, completion of a study of the Australian party system; Vernon J. Puryear, associate professor of history, University of California (Berkeley), completion of a study of Napoleon's policies, from Egypt in 1798 to Russia in 1812; Roy M. Robbins

(renewal), head of the department of history, Butler University, completion of a history of the public domain in the Pacific Northwest in the twentieth century; Robert Sidney Smith, associate professor of economics, Duke University, completion of a history of the guild merchant in Peru and Chile, 1613-1822; Leo Francis Stock, Carnegie Institution of Washington, continuation of the series of *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments respecting North America*; Theodore Thayer, assistant professor of history, University of Washington, completion of a history of Pennsylvania politics, 1740-1776; Eric H. W. Voegelin, associate professor of government, Louisiana State University, completion of a history of political ideas; Harold Zink, head of the department of political science, DePauw University, completion of a study of the American Military Government in the ETO; Richard Bardolph, assistant professor of history, Woman's College, University of North Carolina, completion of a study of agricultural improvement in Illinois to 1870; Edwin Adams Davis, associate professor of history, Louisiana State University, completion of a history of Mexico City; Nannie M. Tilley, director of manuscripts division, Duke University Library, completion of a study of Daniel Lee, agricultural reformer (1804-1890). The sum of \$244,000 is being expended in the total list of 201 awards, fellowships, and grants-in-aid.

The Social Science Research Council has announced the continuation in 1947 of its fellowship program. The fellowships will be limited to citizens and permanent residents of the United States who have had postgraduate research training in the social sciences. Preference will be given to applicants not over thirty-five years old, but this age limit is not absolute. Those interested should write for forms and fuller information to Miss Laura Barrett, Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research in the field of early American history and culture to the year 1815. These grants will be available to those who have a definite project of research in progress. Applications must be received by April 15, 1947; announcements of awards will be made June 1, 1947. Information and forms for application may be procured from the Director of the Institute, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Professor Ernest C. Mossner, of the Department of English of Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, in collaboration with Professor W. C. Maclagan of Glasgow University and Dr. R. Klibansky of Oriel College, Oxford, is preparing a volume of the letters of David Hume which will supplement the 1932 edition of Hume's letters by J. Y. T. Greig. Professor Mossner appeals to librarians, private collectors, and dealers for information concerning any Hume letters or other manuscript materials not included in Greig's edition, or published by him only from

printed sources. He will be pleased to pay all expenses for the making of photostats or certified copies.

An Educational Section has been set up within the Department of Public Information of the United Nations. This section will serve as liaison with boards of education, curriculum committees, particular schools and colleges, individual teachers and students. It will give information regarding material (of any type) available and suitable for the purpose stated. It will advise on possibilities for integrating United Nations news in the regular curriculums, and, if wanted, help in furnishing answers to teachers dealing with special United Nations problems not covered specifically either in available printed or stencilled school material or in the educational press. All correspondence should be addressed to the Chief of the Educational Section.

An Institute of Studies of Comparative Government and Education has been organized at Teachers College, Columbia University. The executive director is Professor Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch, formerly dean of the faculty of law and political science of l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes (Paris) and now visiting professor at Teachers College. Besides a program of lectures and semimonthly roundtables the Institute plans to start a quarterly review and to publish monographs. The first monograph, a co-operative work, will deal with the political, social, and educational ideas of the French Revolution.

A Historical Research Section has been established at the Air University, Maxwell Field, Montgomery, Alabama, which, at full strength, will include approximately fifteen professional civilians. These positions, which are nonteaching assignments, are being filled by scholars with graduate degrees who have had extensive experience in research in the fields of history, political science, and literature. Major monographs and shorter studies will be prepared to develop specific topics for use by instructors and students in the Air University colleges. Professional civil service positions within the salary range of \$4,000 to \$9,000 are being established for all research assignments in the historical staff. Charles M. Thomas, formerly of the department of history in Ohio State University, has been appointed civilian chief of the section.

On October 19 and 20 the Dartmouth College department of history acted as host to the college teachers of history in northern New England. The institutions represented were the University of New Hampshire, University of Vermont, Middlebury, Bennington, Norwich, Colby, and Bowdoin. The success of the meeting brought plans to make the gathering an annual event.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin celebrated its centennial during the

month of October with a series of weekly talks by eminent state leaders and an exhibition tracing the development of the society.

A report on the present status of Italian archives, libraries, historical societies, scholarly publications, and work in progress has been prepared by V. Vitale of Genoa with support from the Research Committee of the University of Wisconsin. In twenty-four mimeographed pages the report not only covers the field of its title but assesses the war damages to libraries and archives. Those especially interested may obtain a copy by addressing a request to Professor Robert L. Reynolds, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

Personal

The chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies (1219 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.) announces that Dr. Waldo G. Leland, director of the Council, became director emeritus as of October 1, 1946, and that Professor Richard H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania was appointed acting director of the Council to serve until the annual meeting on January 31, 1947. Dr. Leland will *render advisory services to the Council in the field of international intellectual relations*, and will engage in the preparation of a history of international intellectual relations since about 1850.

Christopher Crittenden, for the past eleven years executive head of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, has been granted a leave of absence until June 30, 1947, in order to plan and set up a special project of the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Henry Howard Eddy, a native of Vermont and recently from New York State, has been elected to serve as acting director during Dr. Crittenden's absence.

Merle Curti left on September 15 for India, where he will lecture at various Indian universities as representative of the Watumull Foundation.

Beatrice Hyslop, assistant professor of history at Hunter College, New York City, represented history among the eighty-five American teachers who were the guests of the French government for two months in the summer of 1946.

It is gratifying to be able to report that Rafael Altamira y Crevea, the distinguished Spanish historian who was elected an honorary member of the American Historical Association, is living at 42 Plaza Jorge Washington, México, D. F. He is vigorously pursuing his historical studies, has published some twenty articles in the last two years, and is revising his history of Spanish civilization.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

Lester W. Smith has been appointed librarian of the National Archives. Robert Claus, of the National Archives, has transferred to the United Nations to serve as acting archivist.

Curtis W. Garrison, formerly director of the Hayes Memorial at Fremont, Ohio, is now analyst with the Policy Analysis and Records Branch of the Civilian Production Administration. The forthcoming volume of the series *The United States, 1865-1900: A Survey of Current Literature*, of which he has been editor, will be the last to be issued by the Hayes Memorial.

Francis H. Squire of the University of Delaware has been made dean of the university and of the School of Arts and Science.

J. B. Sanders, formerly head of the department of history in the University of Tennessee, was visiting professor of history in George Peabody College for Teachers during the fall quarter of 1946. Professor Sanders is acting professor of history in the University of Washington for the winter and spring quarters of 1947.

In Ohio State University Eugene H. Roseboom, Henry H. Simms, and Francis P. Weisenburger have been promoted to the rank of professor.

Reinhard H. Luthin, lecturer in history at Columbia University, has been appointed associate in history and bibliographer of American history at the same institution, under the Frederick Bancroft Foundation.

In Wayne University William J. Bossenbrook has been promoted to professor of history and Alfred Kelly to associate professor of history.

The department of history of Emory University (Georgia) announces the following appointments: Joseph J. Mathews, formerly of the University of Mississippi, as professor; Judson C. Ward, formerly of Birmingham-Southern University, as associate professor, effective September 1, 1947; Francis S. Benjamin, jr., Charles E. Kistler, and John A. Deaver, as instructors. R. Bingham Duncan and J. Harvey Young have been promoted to associate professorships in the same institution.

Francis A. Arlinghaus has been promoted to professor of history in the University of Detroit.

Gerhard Masur, formerly professor in the University of Berlin and more recently in the Catholic University, Bogotá, Colombia, has been appointed visiting professor of modern European history at Sweet Briar College, Virginia, for the second semester of 1946-47.

In Syracuse University Warren B. Walsh and William P. Hotchkiss have been promoted to professorships and Nelson M. Blake to an associate professorship.

Summerfield Baldwin has been promoted to head of the department of history in the University of Akron.

Florence Edler de Roover, formerly professor and head of the department of history at MacMurray College, is now visiting professor of history and acting head of the department of history at Cedar Crest College (Pennsylvania).

In the University of Pennsylvania Lynn Marshall Case, late of Louisiana State University, has been appointed associate professor of modern European history, Paul E. Eckel has been appointed lecturer in Far Eastern history, and Walther Kirchner, of the University of Delaware, has been appointed visiting lecturer in Russian history.

Arlo W. Andersen has accepted a position as professor of history in Jamestown College, Jamestown, North Dakota.

Josiah C. Russell, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed professor of history and acting head of the department in the University of New Mexico.

Hardin Craig, jr., formerly of the California Institute of Technology, has accepted a position at Rice Institute, Houston, Texas.

Charles F. Edson and William L. Sachse have been promoted to associate professorships in the University of Wisconsin. In the same institution Paul Farmer, formerly of Colgate University, and Eugene Porter Boardman have been appointed assistant professors of history. Robert Lee Wolff has also been appointed assistant professor, the appointment to take effect in September, 1947.

Myron L. Koenig, formerly of Coe College, has been appointed associate professor of American history in George Washington University, Washington, D. C. He is also serving as dean of the Junior College in the university.

Jack Allen, formerly of the Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, has been appointed associate professor of history at George Peabody College for Teachers.

Sidney D. Terr, formerly of Ohio State University, has accepted a position in the new New York State College at Sampson Field.

Frederick W. Adrian has accepted a position as associate professor of history in the University of Omaha.

The University of Wyoming announces the appointment of Gale William McGee as assistant professor and Sidney S. Harcave as instructor of history.

Robert Walcott, jr., has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history at the College of Wooster.

William C. Askew has been appointed assistant professor of history in Colgate University.

George A. Giesemann has been appointed assistant professor of history at Wagner College.

Richard V. Bucks has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor of history in Wayne University. He has also been granted a Social Science Research Council demobilization award for a year's study in Spain in 1947-48.

John M. Webb has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of European history and politics in the University of the South (Sewanee, Tennessee).

Mose L. Harvey, formerly of Emory University, has accepted an appointment in the department of history at the Johns Hopkins University.

Arthur S. Kogan and Charles C. Bagg have been appointed instructors in history and humanities at Reed College, Portland, Oregon.

RECENT DEATHS

A news item in the October issue noted the long and serious illness of Professor Benjamin Burton Kendrick. This issue must carry the news of his death on October 28 in West Dresden, Maine. By his own friendliness Ben Kendrick had made for himself a wide circle of friends that extended far beyond his own area and his own field of scholarship. That friendliness was fortified and deepened by respect for the sturdy and forthright character of the man and interest in his views and interpretations which, whether accepted or not, had to be reckoned with. His sixty-two years covered a varied educational and teaching career. He was born in Georgia and took his first degree at Mercer University in 1905. After some years of teaching in secondary schools in his native state he enrolled in Columbia University, where he earned the master's and then the doctor's degree (1914). From 1912 until 1923 he taught history in Columbia. In 1923, while an associate professor in Columbia, he accepted a call to a professorship in the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina in Greensboro. In 1930 he was made chairman of the department of history and political science. He was an active

member of the American Historical Association, serving on the Council and the Executive Committee 1941-44. He was president of the Southern Historical Association in 1941 and for five years chairman of the committee of the Social Science Research Council for the Southern Region. His dissertation dealt with a phase of Reconstruction; he later published, with L. M. Hacker, *The United States since 1865*, with A. M. Arnett, *The South Looks at Its Past*.

Joseph B. Lockey, professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, died on September 24 in his seventieth year. He was born in Florida and educated partly in the South, where he took his bachelor's degree at the University of Nashville in 1902, and partly in the North, receiving the doctorate from Columbia University in 1920. He taught in the public schools of Florida for several years and from 1909 to 1914 was an inspector in the schools of Peru. After service in World War I, he taught in George Peabody College for Teachers. In 1922 he went to the University of California in Los Angeles, where he remained until his death. He published studies in the field of Pan Americanism and was author of the life of James G. Blaine in the series on American Secretaries of State. In 1929 he was Albert Shaw lecturer in diplomatic history at the Johns Hopkins University.

At its meeting in Chicago December 27, 1944, the Council of the Association chose ten distinguished foreign scholars as honorary members. Among them was Domingo Amunátegui y Solar of Chile. The citation follows: Domingo Amunátegui y Solar. Professor, historian, publicist; corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid; born 1860; has been professor and dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Chile, rector of the University, and Minister of Justice and Public Instruction and of the Interior; author and editor of many historical works, including *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile*, *Historia social de Chile*, *Historia de Chile*, and *El progreso intelectual y política de Chile*. On March 4, 1946, Señor Solar died in Santiago. His was a long and distinguished career in public service and historical teaching and writing and a fitting continuation of similar services by both his father and his uncle. He was actively engaged in writing and publishing until the end of his life.

Allen French, the well-known writer on New England colonial history, died at his home in Concord, Massachusetts, on October 6, 1946, at the age of seventy-five. His most considerable historical work was *The First Year of the American Revolution* (1934). He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1927 and was a contributor of reviews to this journal.

James Francis Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada died on June 5, 1946. Dr. Kenney had been a member of this Association since 1908.